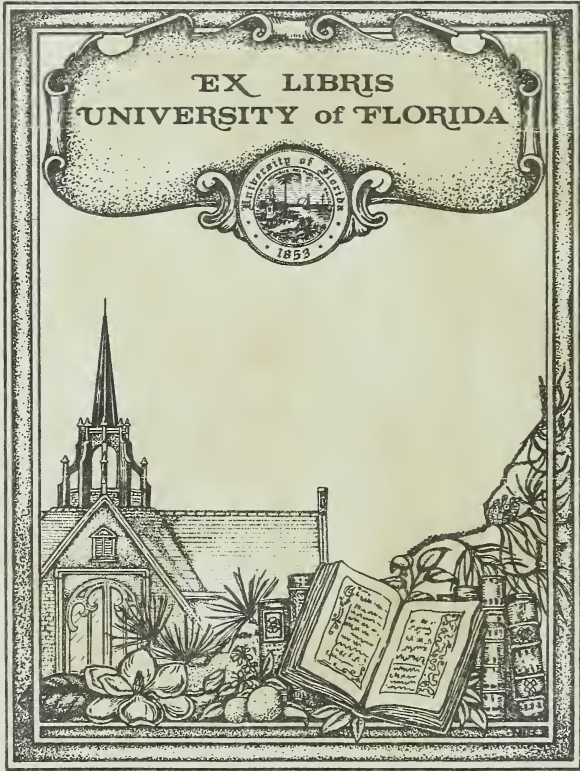


Benjamin S. Rosenthal
LATE A REPRESENTATIVE FROM
NEW YORK

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES
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Memorial Services

Held in the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States,
together with tributes presented in eulogy of

Benjamin S. Rosenthal

Late a Representative from New York

Ninety-eighth Congress
First Session



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
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Biography

BENJAMIN STANLEY ROSENTHAL was born in New York City, N.Y., June 8, 1923; attended public schools, Long Island University, and City College; served in the United States Army, 1943-46; LL.B., Brooklyn Law School, 1949; LL.M., New York University, 1952; admitted to the New York bar in 1949, and commenced practice in New York City; admitted to the Supreme Court bar in 1954; elected as a Democrat-Liberal to the 87th Congress, by special election, on February 20, 1962, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Lester Holtzman; reelected to the 11 succeeding Congresses, and served from January 20, 1962 until his death on January 4, 1983 in Washington, D.C.; interment in Beth-David Cemetery, Elmont, N.Y.

MEMORIAL SERVICES
FOR
BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

Proceedings in the House

THURSDAY, *January 6, 1983.*

Rev. Dr. Ronald F. Christian, Lord of Life Lutheran Church, Fairfax, Va., offered the following prayer:

Heavenly Father and God of us all, for those of us who in Your grace are privileged to enter this year, the year of our Lord, 1983, we pray that we will be faithful servants, not only of our country, but of our higher calling and duty; namely, to earnestly seek peace and good will among all people, to insure that justice shall be guaranteed for everyone, and to give hope through what we say and what we do for those who among us are most hopeless.

We are conscious today of the death of a Member of this assembly, BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL. We are thankful, O God, for his service in this Congress and to the people of his district, and aware of his commitment to the cause of justice. May the high ideals that motivated his life be for all a beacon of hope that others will be encouraged to use their talents in service to all people. May Your spirit of understanding and peace be with his family and give them strength in the days ahead.

Hear our prayer, O God, for it is in You that we place our trust. Amen.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE HONORABLE ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER, MEMBER OF CONGRESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Honorable Robert W. Kastenmeier, a Member of Congress:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., January 4, 1983.

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.,
Speaker of the House of Representatives,
H-209, the Capitol, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: In accordance with your designation of me, pursuant to House Resolution 9, Ninety-eighth Congress, adopted

by the House of Representatives, to administer the oath of office to Representative-elect BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, of the seventh district of New York, I have the honor to report that on January 3, 1983, at Washington, District of Columbia, I administered the oath of office to Mr. ROSENTHAL, form prescribed by section 1757 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, being the form of oath administered to Members of the House of Representatives, to which Mr. ROSENTHAL subscribed.

Sincerely,

ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair desires to announce that the Speaker appointed on January 5, 1983, the following Members to attend the funeral of the late BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL:

Mr. Stratton of New York, Mr. O'Neill of Massachusetts, Mr. Foley of Washington, Mr. Addabbo of New York, Mr. Horton of New York, Mr. Conable of New York, Mr. Biaggi of New York, Mr. Fish of New York, Mr. Kemp of New York, Mr. Lent of New York, Mr. Rangel of New York, Mr. Gilman of New York, Mr. Scheuer of New York, Mr. Ottinger of New York, Mr. Downey of New York, Mr. LaFalce of New York, Mr. McHugh of New York, Mr. Nowak of New York, Mr. Solarz of New York, Mr. Lundine of New York, Mr. Weiss of New York, Mr. Garcia of New York, Mr. Green of New York, Mr. Carney of New York, Ms. Ferraro of New York, Mr. Solomon of New York, Mr. Martin of New York, Mr. McGrath of New York, Mr. Molinari of New York, Mr. Schumer of New York, Mr. Wortley of New York, Mr. Boehlert of New York, Mr. Mrazek of New York, Mr. Owens of New York, Mr. Towns of New York, Mr. Zablocki of Wisconsin, Mr. Brooks of Texas, Mr. Fascell of Florida, Mr. Kastenmeier of Wisconsin, Mr. Edwards of California, Mr. Roybal of California, Mr. Burton of California, Mr. Montgomery of Mississippi, Mr. Alexander of Arkansas, Mr. Yatron of Pennsylvania, Mr. Obey of Wisconsin, Mrs. Collins of Illinois, Mr. Levitas of Georgia, Mr. Miller of California, Mr. Mineta of California, Mr. Waxman of California, Mr. Jenkins of Georgia, Mr. Panetta of California, Mr. Mica of Florida, Mr. Williams of Ohio, Mr. Crockett of Michigan, Mr. Eckart of Ohio, Mr. Frank of Massachusetts, Mr. Gejdenson of Connecticut, Mr. Roemer of Louisiana, and Mr. Kostmayer of Pennsylvania.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to say a few words in memory of our colleague from New York, the late BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL.

I was at his funeral this morning. It was a very beautiful, simple affair, at which his friends spoke of his great accomplishments in this House and of his great standing as a human being.

That 75 Members of the House made the trip to New York for services attests the degree of respect and affection we felt for him. Over 1,000 people attended those services. BEN's close friend, the gentleman from California, Don Edwards, spoke at the funeral. He was joined by, among others, our former colleague Mayor Ed Koch and New York Governor Mario Cuomo.

BEN ROSENTHAL was probably one of the best loved Members of this body. He was known as a champion of the consumer, a champion of human rights, which he pursued vigorously as a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and a champion of civil rights and the rights of all our people here at home.

Mr. Speaker, we will miss him very dearly.

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, although I know that the membership is generally aware of the news, I announce for the Record the sorrowful and untimely death from cancer of our colleague from New York, the Honorable BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, a dear and close friend of mine for over 30 years and as close as a brother. On behalf of BEN's family, I would like to thank many of our colleagues and former colleagues, led by Speaker O'Neill, who attended funeral services in New York City this morning.

Because of the abbreviated session planned for today, I believe there is not sufficient time for the Members to prepare their comments so I will put off a special order memorializing BEN until some future to be announced day. However, I do ask unanimous consent at this time to insert into the Record newspaper articles from the January 5, 1983, New York Times and an editorial from today's Washington Post. Both pieces deal with the life of BEN ROSENTHAL and his effect on issues during the years he served in this body. And that I and all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend our remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. Speaker, those of us who knew BEN ROSENTHAL over the years grew to love and respect him as a person who cared deeply for this body and for the people of this country that we serve. He was, at heart, an introverted man in an extrovert's line of work,

a man who enjoyed the intellectual aspects of our work and tolerated—sometimes with gritted teeth—the ceremonial part of it. In the 2 years since the cancer was detected, BEN ROSENTHAL displayed a personal courage and a refusal to bow to the debilitation of his illness that is unmatched. I am thankful that God has now given him rest.

I am sure that the Members join with me in extending our deepest condolences to his wife, Lila, their daughter, Debra Mandel, their son, Edward, and his mother, Ceil, and sister, Lola Ostreicher.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 5, 1983]

BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL, CONGRESSMAN FROM QUEENS FOR TWO DECADES,
DIES

WASHINGTON, January 4.—Representative BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL of Queens, a leading liberal Democrat who was elected to his 11th term in November, died today of cancer at Georgetown University Hospital.

Mr. ROSENTHAL, who was 59 years old and had been ill for 2 years, had been sworn in at his bedside in the hospital on Monday.

He won reelection in the newly drawn Seventh District in Queens, which shifted south from his old Eighth District in north central Queens to include Forest Hills, Kew Gardens, Richmond Hill, Rego Park, and Bellerose on the Nassau County border.

INTERIM SUCCESSOR TO BE NAMED

Patrick F. X. Mulhearn, counsel to Mayor Koch, said yesterday that an interim successor to Mr. ROSENTHAL would be selected by the Queens County Democratic Committee.

According to State election law, he said, a special election would then be called by the Governor. That election must be held not sooner than 30 days and not more than 40 days after the date that the Governor signs the proclamation for the special election. The law does not specify when the Governor must act.

Except for extraordinary circumstances, the Democratic candidate would be the interim successor chosen by the county committee, Mr. Mulhearn said. There would be no primary.

A general election for the seat would be held on election day in November, Mr. Mulhearn said.

Mayor Koch, in a statement, said: "BEN ROSENTHAL was a great Congressman, a wonderful husband and father, and a close friend. His compassion and effectiveness have earned him an honored place among New York's great legislators."

Mr. Koch ordered the city's flags to be lowered to half-staff in tribute.

ADVOCATE FOR THE CONSUMER

(By Maurice Carroll)

Mr. ROSENTHAL was first elected to Congress in 1962 as the choice of "regular" Democrats in a complicated special election.

He went on to become an outspoken leader of consumer causes and, as his seniority grew, an increasingly effective advocate for the city.

When still new in the House, he began, much earlier than most, to speak out against the Vietnam War. "It was a very lonely road," he said when, after opposition to the war became more general, a number of Members of Congress arranged for an all-night vigil in the House to coincide with antiwar demonstrations by students.

TEN PERCENT AGREED WITH ME

As he helped organize the vigil, he recalled the earlier, lonelier days. When he first took his antiwar stand in 1965, he said, "maybe 10 percent of my district agreed with me."

For the most part, though, Mr. ROSENTHAL was in tune with his constituents and he did not forget the political truism that politics is a local trade. "He never 'went Washington.'" said one Capitol Hill friend. "He was totally oriented to New York."

But he lived close to his job. Early in his congressional tenure, he broke with the air-commutation pattern practiced by many New Yorkers in Congress—Tuesday to Thursday in Washington, with weekends politicking at home. Although he kept a voting address in Elmhurst, Queens, Mr. ROSENTHAL, his wife, the former Lila Moskowitz, and their two children made their permanent home in Bethesda, Md.

A DEFENDER OF ISRAEL

In international affairs, Mr. ROSENTHAL was a vigorous defender of Israel. At home, he supported the compromise that turned an unpopular low-income housing project in Forest Hills into a cooperative instead.

On Capitol Hill, Mr. ROSENTHAL was regarded as a perceptive analyst of motivation and of what could be accomplished. He wanted to win, not just make points.

He berated one fellow New Yorker who had, in his view, sabotaged an effort to win a House leadership post for the city delegation with a maneuver aimed at a mayoral election. That, Mr. ROSENTHAL said scornfully, was "playing a local game."

Nevertheless, his own involvement in New York City's increasingly intertwined relationships with Washington was considerable.

He started with the watchfulness over district projects that are a congressional standard. He came to play an important role in the drive to win Federal support to help the city out of its fiscal problems in the mid-1970's.

As a member of the Government Operations Committee, he issued a report in 1976 that criticized the administration of President Gerald R. Ford for "preoccupation with fiscal brinkmanship" during New York's fiscal troubles.

In Congress, he wielded power through investigations and an ability to call attention to issues more than through writing legislation. In this way he helped shape administration policy and agency practice.

BENJAMIN STANLEY ROSENTHAL, who was born on June 8, 1923, in the Bronx, was brought up in Queens and attended City College. In 1949, after wartime service as a military policeman in Iceland, he graduated from Brooklyn Law School. And like many other young lawyers, he began to dabble in politics.

COMPLEX MANEUVERING

In 1962, the incumbent in the Eighth Congressional District became a judge, and after complex maneuvering involving numerous candidates Mr. ROSENTHAL emerged as the choice of Mayor Robert F. Wagner. He went on to win in a special election.

He is survived by his wife, the former Lila Moskowitz; a son, Edward, of Bethesda; a daughter, Debra Mandel of Philadelphia; his mother, Ceil, of Queens, and a sister, Lola Ostreicher, of New Hyde Park, L.I.

His chief legislative assistant, Steven Cohen, said funeral arrangements were incomplete.



[From the Washington Post, Jan. 6, 1983]

BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL of Queens was an able, issue-minded legislator and among the most conscientious of the breed. Arriving in the House in 1962, he established himself as a hard-driving advocate of a full range of liberal Democratic causes, domestic and foreign. In an affectionate tribute, his constituents voted him another term last November although they knew he was a cancer patient. He died Tuesday, at age 59.

BEN ROSENTHAL was no shrinking violet, no TV smoothie, no seeker of consensus, he believed in fighting hard for the things he cared about, and he did so with a vigor—often witty, but sometimes, as he acknowledged, abrasive—that left few people with equivocal feelings about him. Even if he had had to worry about being reelected, which he did not, there is little reason to think he would have altered his style.

It says something about Mr. ROSENTHAL that he struggled for more than a decade to establish a Federal agency to represent consumers in court, becoming nationally known as a consumer champion, but ended up not with a new agency but with a marathon educational campaign. The hearings he conducted in his Government Operations Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer, and Monetary Affairs sharpened his reputation for being that rare legislator on the front line of the public interest.

With many other Members of his congressional class, Representative ROSENTHAL moved easily to the large causes of the 1960's—the Great Society and, early on, the movement against American involvement in the Vietnam

war. A member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, he promoted a stronger congressional role in foreign policymaking while that issue was popular on the Hill, and while it was not. He qualified as a leader of the "Israeli lobby" in the House and, in one disastrous episode involving Cyprus, he threw his weight to the "Greek lobby" as well. Then as always, he fought hard and fairly and without consideration of personal risk or gain.

Mr. MRAZEK. Mr. Speaker, it is with a profound sense of sorrow that I join my colleagues in rising to pay tribute to our late colleague, BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL. I did not have the honor to serve with BEN but as a fellow New Yorker I had the utmost respect for his service to our country and the House of Representatives.

While he will no longer serve with us in the 98th Congress, his past work as a senior member of both the Foreign Affairs and Government Operations Committees will continue to benefit our own Nation as well as our allies abroad.

His dedication and commitment lasted right up to the last week-end of his life. His remarkable courage in the face of great pain is a wonderful example for us all. I extend my heartfelt sympathy to his family and offer them my sincere condolences.

Mr. KOSTMAYER. Mr. Speaker, 6 years ago, when I first came to Washington as a freshman House Member, I sought a seat on the Committee on Government Operations. On the tier of seats behind and above me in the committee room sat BEN ROSENTHAL of New York. As long as I smelled the smoke of BEN's long cigar while he was perched above me, I was reassured that the consumers in his district and mine, as well as everywhere in the country, were being well represented.

BEN ROSENTHAL's constituency was wherever people sought to be treated fairly and honestly. Millions of Americans, who never knew his name, lead safer, cleaner, healthier, and more economical lives because of him and his work.

BEN's tough, wisecracking facade could not mask his sense of humor and kindness. I will miss him as a colleague and as a friend.

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to join with my distinguished colleague from New York, Mr. Addabbo, and other Members of the House in mourning the death of one of the great legislators of this body—Congressman BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, for two decades, BEN ROSENTHAL represented the Eighth Congressional District of New York. He truly made an indelible mark on the work of this body and the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, we all know that BEN was a champion of the people and particularly of consumers. As a ranking member of the House Government Operations Committee, BEN worked tirelessly to protect the rights of consumers. His major goal was the creation of an independent Federal consumer protection agency. Even though this agency was never created, in his own unique style, BEN almost single-handedly educated this body and this Nation about the problems of the consumer.

Mr. Speaker, in addition to being the primary advocate for the consumer, BEN was a man of great vision and the conscience of this Congress. Long before the antiwar movement gained prominence in the House, BEN ROSENTHAL arranged for an all-night vigil in the House to coincide with anti-Vietnam war demonstrations by students. I joined BEN in that vigil. All of us that participated in that historic moment found a strong sense of encouragement from BEN's courage and convictions about the insanity of this country's involvement in the Vietnam war.

As a result of that vigil, BEN gained a reputation for being a man of great spirit and drive not only in the Congress but throughout the Nation.

We shall all miss BEN. Mr. Speaker, he was truly a statesman and an exceptional legislator. In his every waking moment, he kept his primary purpose of being in Washington in focus—to serve the people. BEN achieved that purpose in a grand and memorable style. As we begin the work of the 98th Congress, we shall truly miss the conscience and leadership of our colleague—Congressman BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, Congressman BEN ROSENTHAL of New York served the House of Representatives and the Nation with dedication and distinction, and his death is a sad loss.

During the 20 years that he served as Congressman for the Eighth District of New York, he compiled a legislative record on behalf of the consumer that will be remembered with respect and gratitude.

BEN ROSENTHAL was a consistent champion of civil rights and civil liberties, and he was among the first in the House of Representatives to publicly oppose the Vietnam war. He fought with compassion for the powerless who could not help themselves.

BEN served in the Army from March of 1943 to January of 1946, and began his career of public service with his election to the 87th Congress in a special election on February 20, 1962. He was reelected

to each Congress since that time. During the 88th and 89th Congresses, he served as a member of the National Commission on Food Marketing, and as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. His outstanding dedication to high standards was an inspiration to his friends and fellow citizens.

As the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer, and Monetary Affairs of the House Government Operations Committee, Congressman ROSENTHAL was in the forefront of consumer justice and protection for those who could not help themselves, and indeed, these successful efforts have made our land a stronger and better country.

BEN was a dedicated and devoted American, and a Congressman of outstanding ability, deep compassion, and courage in total dedication to high standards. He will be sorely missed in the House of Representatives.

Mrs. Annunzio and I extend our deepest sympathy to his wife, Lila, and to his children, Debra and Edward, his mother, Ceil, and his sister, Lola.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in sorrow at the death of our colleague, Representative BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, yesterday at Georgetown University Hospital.

I had known him since he came to the House in a special election some 20 years ago, and I was pleased to call him my friend.

For a time, we occupied offices across the hall from each other in the Rayburn Building, and I frequently walked back and forth to the Capitol with him as we went to cast our votes. I knew him as a good man, an impeccably honest man, and a fighter for the things in which he believed.

I like to think of BEN ROSENTHAL as a warrior for the people. He will be sorely missed in this Congress, and it is doubly tragic that his death has come so early in this session.

I join my colleague in expressing our sorrow to his family.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution on the death of the Honorable BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

HOUSE RESOLUTION 28

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, a Representative from the State of New York.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That when the House adjourns today, it adjourn as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York, Mr. Stratton.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, as the gentleman from New York, and Mr. Addabbo, has already advised the House, our beloved colleague, BEN ROSENTHAL, passed away during the recess of the House. This morning in the city of New York the funeral services for BEN were conducted.

Mr. ROSENTHAL was one of the most capable Members of the House, one of the most dedicated, one of the most witty, and when he chose to be he could also, as he indicated himself, be a little bit sarcastic and perhaps even abrasive. But he was an extremely effective Member of the House, as many who have served with him can attest, not only from his long fight for the consumers of the country, but also his support of Israel and in particular the support that he gave to his colleagues of Greek origin during the time of the Cyprus crisis.

I think those of us who had the privilege of attending the funeral services today were impressed indeed with the solemnity of those services. Some 75 Members of the House and some former colleagues were also in attendance.

The eulogy was spoken by our colleague, the gentleman from California, Mr. Edwards, very eloquently indeed. Then our former colleague, now the mayor of New York City, Ed Koch, also made a very moving and eloquent eulogy of our departed colleague.

The rabbi, whose name I do not have at the moment, also performed a very moving memorial service in a crowded temple.

I think all of us were impressed by the fact that the people from BEN's district lined the streets in great numbers. I think he would have been appreciative of the fact that the media from New York City were out in full force to record that event.

The two tributes which were contained in the New York Times and in the Washington Post I think adequately indicate the scope of BEN ROSENTHAL's effectiveness. He is going to be an extremely difficult Member to replace but we do appreciate his service. We are grateful for the opportunity of having served with him and, as the gentleman from New York, Mr. Addabbo, has indicated, when we

reconvene after the recess we will be in a position to pay more complete tribute to the service of the gentleman from New York.

Mr. Speaker, I ask for adoption of the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. PENNY. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the provisions of Senate Concurrent Resolution 1 and House Resolution 28, 98th Congress, I move that the House stand adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian, Tuesday, January 25, 1983, in memory of the late Honorable BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL of New York.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the provisions of Senate Concurrent Resolution 1 and House Resolution 28, 98th Congress, the House stands adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian on Tuesday, January 25, 1983, in memory of the late Honorable BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL of New York.

Thereupon at 6 o'clock and 10 minutes p.m., pursuant to Senate Concurrent Resolution 1 and pursuant to House Resolution 28, the House adjourned until Tuesday, January 25, 1983, at 12 o'clock noon.

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, I had the honor to attend this morning's funeral services for our dear friend and departed colleague, BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL. I take this occasion today to pay a brief tribute to this great man and announce my intention to participate in the special order later this month.

I had the pleasure to work with BEN throughout my 14 years in this House, BEN preceded me by some 5 years so by the time I arrived in 1968 BEN was one of the more experienced and wiser Members whose counsel was oftentimes invaluable.

BEN and I represented neighboring districts in the Borough of Queens for some 10 years. I knew many of BEN's constituents and know how revered and respected he was. If there was any doubt—all one had to do was see the thousands of people who lined the funeral route this morning—these were people in genuine mourning and loss.

BEN had a legislative career with many milestones. He may be best remembered for his work on behalf of the consumers of this Nation. He was a pioneer in the consumer movement and left as a champion of this important cause.

BEN was a passionate advocate of the sovereign State of Israel and a powerful champion for the right of the Greek Cypriot population.

He was a man of incredible integrity and intelligence—of commitment and capacity. He had a dry sense of humor—but regaled in stories that either he told or those which were told to him. We shared many hours and experiences together—and today I feel a powerful sense of loss. BEN leaves behind a legacy which will endure for years to come. My most sincere expressions of sympathy go to his widow, Lila, and his surviving children, Debra and Edward. May he rest in the peace he deserves.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, all of us feel the deep loss at the passing of our friend and colleague, BEN ROSENTHAL. In the two decades that we served together, I grew to greatly admire this man of compassion, courage, and high principle.

As a member of the Government Operations Committee, BEN ROSENTHAL fought hard for the health and safety of American consumers. He paid particularly close attention to the needs of our most vulnerable citizens, especially the aged, the minorities, and the disadvantaged. A thoughtful and hard-working legislator, BEN helped to move our country toward greater social justice for all citizens in the 1960's and 1970's. I was fortunate to collaborate with BEN on legislation to assist the cities of our country, and to benefit from his friendship.

He was a man who enjoyed the overwhelming support of his constituents who appreciated his honesty, sincerity, and conscientious concern for their welfare.

Even during the illness that finally took his life, BEN inspired many of us with his indomitable spirit and sharp wit. I mourn his loss as a friend and statesman, and I offer my sympathies to his wife, Lila, and his family.

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, it was with a great personal sadness that I learned of the death of our colleague, BEN ROSENTHAL. He was a good man and he will be missed.

Although I first met BEN when I came to Congress in 1961, I cannot say that we were immediate friends. I did not know him well when I was assigned to the Government Operations Committee in 1967 but I quickly came to like and trust him.

BEN and I worked closely together on a wide range of subjects over the years and I valued his opinions and advice. We worked in the early days on the Consumer Protection Agency and we worked side-by-side to establish the Department of Energy. BEN—looking out for

his constituents served by multistate utilities—and I, concerned with my rural constituents served by small electric co-ops, reached compromises that allowed us to pass the legislation through committee and to the House floor.

The hard work and dedication BEN brought to every assignment was a trademark of his. If you did battle with BEN you had best come prepared because he always did his homework.

One facet of his character may not be generally known. I can remember numerous times during committee hearings and markup when there would be a lull. You could count on BEN to lean over and tell a joke and make a wisecrack that would bring chuckles from everyone within earshot. He had a marvelous sense of humor and often told jokes at his own expense.

I extend my condolences to his wife and family. Their loss is deep. The country, too, suffers the loss of a leader. I shall miss BEN very much. He was a colleague and, more, he was a friend.

The SPEAKER. The Chair wishes to lay before the House a Message from the Senate on Senate Resolution 19.

A message from the Senate by Mr. Sparrow, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agreed to the following resolution:

SENATE RESOLUTION 19

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of the Honorable BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, late a Representative from the State of New York.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That when the Senate recesses today, it recess as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I take this time on behalf of the New York delegation to pay tribute to one of our most outstanding Members, the late BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL from New York City, a man of enormous energy, a man of great achievements, and one whose presence in this House we have already missed and we will continue to miss for many years to come.

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, it is always sad when death takes away a good friend. It is even more sad when that good friend is a person of the stature of our departed colleague, the Honorable BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL. BEN will be missed by not just his family, his friends, and his coworkers, he is mourned by the millions of

Americans who learned to depend upon BEN ROSENTHAL to look after their rights.

BEN was not a man who was truly meant for politics. He was far happier resolving a sticky legal problem, unraveling incomprehensible redtape, thinking through some ethereal point of law to protect the innocent consumer from the hyperbole of the marketplace. He did not especially care for the pressing the flesh that politics requires, but he did it willingly because by doing so, he maintained a place in this House where he could do the work that was his life.

The most striking thing about BEN ROSENTHAL was that he cared, deeply and truly, for the people of this great land, and for the honesty and integrity of the Government of this country. Anything that threatened to diminish that integrity drew his instant and everlasting wrath.

But as much as I respected BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL, Member of Congress, it is BEN ROSENTHAL, my old friend of 30 years and congressional neighbor that I will miss so greatly. It is to the friend that the memories return. For the years before either of us came to this Chamber, in the 22 years we spent as colleagues here, for cups of coffee consumed while plotting anything and everything, for the sense of humor that surfaced time after time just when there was no tolerance left for seriousness, that is where fond memories reside.

There is no way, Mr. Speaker, to distill the life of a man so that others may truly know him as we, his colleagues, did. And, to each of us here, he was a different person, as we often display different sides of ourselves to others. But the consistency of 22 years of public service is what is important here, I believe. In all that time, BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL never wavered from the beliefs that he cherished, never faltered a beat from the intensity of his concern for those who could not help themselves and who must rely on Government for protection.

For those who never faced him in debate of a critical point, let me note, BEN ROSENTHAL was formidable when aroused. I do not recall a time when I found BEN unprepared for his work nor a time when he conceded a point he believed vital to the integrity of an issue.

As far as I know, the only person to win arguments with BEN was his beloved and cherished wife, Lila. And Lila, more than anyone else, knows that although cancer may have ultimately ended his life,

it did not defeat him. He fought it to the end with a dignity and a grittiness that must be admired. Lila and his children, Debbie and Edward, were stalwarts through that long and painful battle, as were the members of his congressional staff who stayed on and worked harder for him than even BEN had any right to expect. To all of them, and to all the others who cared so much about this good person, our hearts go out to you in your grief and your loss. And to his mother, Ceil, a lady of great distinction and forbearance in her own right, we who knew and loved BEN ROSENTHAL, add our prayers for her inconsolable loss.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join in expressing my admiration and warmth for BEN ROSENTHAL. I really got to know him when we contended together for the nomination for the U.S. Senate in 1970. While contenders for the same post, we became very close personally.

BEN was a person of extraordinary dedication and principle. He became the Nation's chief congressional consumer advocate and was responsible for most of the consumer protection legislation passed into law over the past decade.

He was also among the staunchest supporters of civil rights at home and human rights abroad. As a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, he was a staunch supporter of Israel and an effective advocate for a humanistic foreign policy.

Every one of us who knew him admired his courage during his recent illness, continuing to vote and push the causes in which he believed, even when he was suffering the most severe pain and hardship.

I would like to join in offering condolences to Lila and to his family, and to say how much we will miss him here as a defender of consumers' rights, a sound foreign policy, human rights around the world—and as a friend.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, Martha and I knew BEN and Lila very well. We came to Congress together, served together, we traveled together on mutual interests around Europe. He was the instigator of the movement to bring the European parliaments and the U.S. Congress closer together, and he was very successful in that.

During this interim of trips and working together on various things around the Congress here, I began to admire and have a great respect for BEN ROSENTHAL. He was a person of great ability and of

great integrity, and also he was a fine family man. He thought so highly of his wife and of his family.

He was intensely interested in the things that a fine Congressman would be interested in, how this body works, how can it work better, how can it solve the problems of the United States, and how can it be coordinated to work with other problems around the world.

He was a fearless fighter. He adopted a cause and never pulled a punch. He was an excellent investigator and legislator. He was a fine reformer of our procedures here. He is, in his own unique way, irreplaceable in the U.S. Congress.

So I am sure that, along with the rest of my colleagues, Martha and I extend our deepest sympathies to Lila and to her family on the loss of BEN ROSENTHAL.

Ms. FERRARO. Mr. Speaker, I have prepared remarks which I will include in the Record, but I just want to say a few words about BEN ROSENTHAL which are very, very difficult to put on a typewritten sheet.

When I first came down here, BEN really went out of his way to help me, and indicated, "If there is anything at all that I can do for you, please just call me." It wasn't just said, as some people do, to someone new. It was said with a great deal of sincerity, and more than once I reached out to BEN ROSENTHAL and got the help that he had offered on that very first day that I was down here in 1979.

There was a time when my daughter was here, as well, and the two of them had this little thing going. She would always ask for Congressman ROSENTHAL and he would ask for her. She was 12 at the time.

When BEN died, I told her that he had died and she started to cry and she said, "He was a very, very good man." I do not think you can say more than that about anyone; that they leave an impression upon not only the people they work with but on the children that they meet and other people whose lives they touch. He was a very, very good man.

Lila is a friend of mine. I cannot offer more than the sincerest sympathy for her loss. I know how terribly devastating it was to her and her family, and I hope that we will always remain together as close friends specifically because of our mutual, sincere love for BEN ROSENTHAL.

Mr. Speaker, New York City, the House of Representatives, and the Nation suffered a great loss with the death of BEN ROSENTHAL.

For 20 years in this body he had fought for the causes in which he believed—sometimes giving offense, always challenging the unjust use of power. Through it all, he maintained the highest standards of integrity and intellectual honesty. He could get angry, and his wit could be caustic and abrasive, but his objective—the furtherance of public interest—always justified his actions.

BEN's record as defender of the consumer and as a champion of Israel is well known. He led the fight for a Federal Consumer Protection Agency, and his frustration at the failure of that effort was shared by all who support consumers' rights. That strong sense of fairness in consumer affairs led him to sponsor legislation to protect his constituents against condominium conversions of their apartment houses. I am proud to be continuing his work, to maintain stability and fairness in that sector of the housing market.

BEN's interest in foreign affairs first emerged in the mid-1960's, when he was an early critic of the Vietnam war. Long before the Nation came to understand the mistakes of the American involvement in Southeast Asia, BEN ROSENTHAL was in the front lines of the movement to end the war.

His work on the Foreign Affairs Committee led him to become a leading spokesman for strong ties between the United States and Israel. BEN understood the mutual interdependence between the two countries, and he used his influence to strengthen our relationship with Israel and to oppose any efforts to undermine the relationship or to weaken Israel's security position by providing excessive arms to Arab States in the Middle East.

But Israel was not his only cause. The refugees in Cyprus always had a friend in Congress they could rely on.

While BEN was generally regarded as a solid liberal vote in Congress, he was tough on issues of concern to his constituents, such as the drug trade and drug-related crime. His liberalism was reasoned, compassionate, and practical, and not dogmatic or doctrinaire.

The common thread running through BEN's service in Congress was his devotion to the people. In his work in the consumer area particularly, we can see the determination to make government work for a better America. He really cared about the problems facing people, and he tried to use his stature in Congress to do something to make things better.

Mr. DOWNEY. Mr. Speaker, I think if BEN were here listening to his colleagues eulogize him, he would say, "For heaven's sake, keep

it short and make it funny.” and I do not know that we can do that when we talk about BEN because he was so many different things to so many of us.

He was a champion of consumer affairs. He was the Congress pre-eminent investigator. In the area of foreign policy with respect to Israel he was one of our Nation’s experts on Israeli policies.

But more importantly, he was a marvelous friend and a wonderful human being, and those words, I guess, have a hollow ring to some who did not know him, but I can recall one special trip that a number of us took in 1979 to the boat people’s camp in Indochina, Hong Kong, and to North Vietnam. As a result of that trip, I believe the lives of several hundred, possibly several thousand people were saved because of the intervention of BEN ROSENTHAL and the intervention of Members of Congress.

He was not afraid to take controversial positions. He was not afraid to take tough stands. Most of all, the thing that I will miss the most was the fact that he was not afraid, in the most serious of situations, to be funny and lighthearted, which made this job so much better for all of us.

We will miss him, but we have learned a great deal as a result of our relationship with him. We are all enriched by it.

Mr. WEISS. Mr. Speaker, when BEN ROSENTHAL died the day after he was sworn in as a Member of the 98th Congress, we lost a capable and conscientious legislator and an outstanding advocate of individual rights, a man whose 20 years of service in Congress were marked by extraordinary courage and dedication which he carried down to the very last day of his service in this House.

I had the privilege, as a member of the Committee on Government Operations, of serving with BEN. We all know how ceaselessly he fought through hearings, investigations, and challenges to established interests to protect the rights of the average citizen. He struggled for more than a decade to establish a Federal agency to protect consumers in court, and although the plan fell victim to the antigovernment mood of the day, his efforts helped educate the country on the need for consumer protection.

His courage in defending his goals and ideals, even when they were unpopular causes, was demonstrated early in his congressional career. In the mid-1960’s, only a small percentage of his constituents, and even a smaller percentage of Americans, were opposed to the war in Vietnam. Yet BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL openly criticized U.S. policy

in Vietnam, earning for himself the enmity of powerful leaders within the party but the gratitude of Americans across the country.

He was unwavering in his commitment to and his love for the people of Israel, although from time to time he may have disagreed with specific actions and policies of the Government of Israel.

On the Foreign Affairs Committee, where I have the privilege of having succeeded to the seat that he held, he fought fiercely for human rights. No matter what the issue, his voice was never raised to promote himself or to seize attention for his own accomplishments. Although he could be difficult and firm and perhaps stronger than firm in the ideological battles that he so loved, he was gentle in personal dealings, witty and always ready to poke fun at himself. As his friends and colleagues, we will miss him deeply. We have lost an exceptional man, a leader whose accomplishments benefited not only his constituents in Queens, not only New York City and New York State, but citizens across the country and indeed throughout the world.

I think we all mourn his death, and I want to extend my deepest sympathies to his wife Lila, to his children, to his mother, to other members of his family and indeed to all of those who were close to him.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. Speaker, as a new Member in Congress, I really got to know BEN maybe in the last 6 months of his life, because, as many of us knew, BEN was ailing at that point, and he would come to the floor and basically spend the day on the floor and go back in the cloakroom and nap and come back on the floor, and we talked about a whole lot of things. The Congress, the system of governments, and how a legislator should best do his job, and then of more personal things, of family, of friends, and what life was really all about.

Even though my knowledge of BEN was over a short period of time, it was a rather intense relationship. I can say, without an equivocation, of all of the people that I have known, nobody combined the intelligence with the compassion of BEN ROSENTHAL. He was a unique individual. He was able to get things done. He was able to persuade others to do the right thing. And yet as he stayed here for 20 years, he never lost his compassion for what was right and what the average person and the poor person needed from government.

It is going to be a long time before this Chamber replaces BEN ROSENTHAL.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, it is most difficult—indeed, impossible—to capture the essence of a truly extraordinary man in a brief span of time and space. In fact, I am not certain there could be sufficient time and space to do justice to BEN ROSENTHAL and the impact he had on those of us who were proud to be his friend.

He was truly one of those unique individuals who makes a difference in our individual and collective lives. One of those individuals who forces us to confront ourselves and what we are as a people and as a nation. One of those individuals whose presence in our world, for however long, gives us one more reason to fear a little less John Stuart Mill's warning: "That so few dare to be eccentric marks the chief danger of our times."

My service in this body and BEN's largely paralleled each other's, as did our views on most issues. One of my earliest remembrances of my association with BEN is of our commitment to one of the many unpopular causes for which we fought together—our early opposition to the role of the United States in Vietnam. BEN and I were part of a small group of Members of the House who worked together as a group to try to forge some kind of significant congressional opposition to what we viewed as an immoral and unjust war.

I will always be grateful to BEN for joining me in Madison, Wis., way back on July 30, 1965, when I held the first congressional, grass-roots hearings on the war in Vietnam. He was, at that time, the only Member of Congress I could get to come to Madison, and his presence, as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, gave those hearings greater credibility than they might otherwise have had.

That BEN was never one to back down from unpopular fights was aptly captured in his opening remarks at those hearings:

It will be said that these hearings are useless and futile. What good can they possibly do and who will listen? These arguments entirely miss the point. I believe that we all must be as concerned with the institutions and procedures of our democracy as we are with the policies we plan and implement. For if there is some illness in our institutions, it will eventually infect our programs. We must therefore always be sensitive to new ways in which we can promote wide public action in our politics. If this means experimentation in unorthodox procedures, we must be prepared to experiment. However sentimental it may sound, this is the way politics in America, and particularly in Wisconsin, began and grew.

BEN ROSENTHAL's total commitment to his job as a representative of the people of his district was demonstrated early by the fact that he was one of the first Members of an eastern metropolitan area to make this a full-time job by one simple decision. However impolitic it may have seemed at the time, he moved his family to the Washington, D.C. area and there he remained for the balance of his service.

BEN ROSENTHAL loved a good fight—was invigorated and rejuvenated by the rigors of a battle undertaken for a just cause, particularly if fought against what appeared to be overwhelming odds. And, when BEN decided to fight he was absolutely fearless. Twice he took on his own committee chairmen. He did battle with the powerful Hunts. He tackled the popular condominium movement. And, as is so well known, he fought for years for consumers, particularly in his campaign to create a Consumer Protection Agency.

Few individuals were able to get to the heart of an issue quite like BEN ROSENTHAL. He somehow had the ability to ask just the right question of witnesses; the ability to make the appropriate pithy comment that cut through all of the extraneous matter and elicit precisely the information being sought.

His uncanny ability to accomplish in a 15-second statement or question what it took most of the rest of us much longer to achieve, made him excellent subject matter for both network news and national newspapers. As a result, BEN ROSENTHAL was not just another Member of Congress. He achieved national recognition because of his ability to concisely and precisely say and ask what so many of us wished we had and in a way so few of us seemingly could.

David Broder, in his January 16, 1983, column on BEN and former Oregon Governor, Tom McCall, concluded by saying:

The sound of their voices raised in battle will be missed. And so will their laughter.

I will greatly miss my dear friend. But, I will certainly always be aware of his presence when some of us engage in still another unpopular battle. And, I will hear his laughter when we outfox the opposition still another time.

My sympathies and my lasting friendship, and that of my wife, Dorothy, go out to his wife Lila, and his family.

Mr. GARCIA. Mr. Speaker, I would just like to start off on the question of what we are doing here in honor of one of our colleagues, BEN ROSENTHAL, as was stated on several occasions, happened to be

born in the county of Bronx. BEN ROSENTHAL was a man who we, as legislators, and especially after you spend the number of years in the legislative body, there are people who pass away during that period of service while you are there, and you will go to the funeral and pay your respects to the family. And this is the first time that I ever participated in one of these expressions of, I guess you can call it, condolence, but also express a sense of gratitude for a person like BEN ROSENTHAL.

BEN ROSENTHAL was very unique. If he was at his own funeral, looking down, he would probably say, "What is all this fuss about?" That is the way he was. He was very specific and very to the point. As I said, this is the first time that I have participated in expressing sentiment to a former Member, whether during my days as a State senator or here in the U.S. Congress.

I consider myself very fortunate that I had an opportunity to serve with him over the last 4 or 5 years in which our time in this body coincided. But BEN ROSENTHAL was a person who, without a doubt, in my mind—we always say nice things about people who pass away, because that is the proper thing to do and it is the right thing to do. But there is no question in my mind that BEN ROSENTHAL will be missed. He will be missed because he just had that unique quality that so few people possess.

I think it is a tribute to you, Mr. Speaker, the dean of our delegation, along with our colleague, Mr. Addabbo, who have been so close to him over all of these years, are the ones who have put this together. But I would just like to say that life goes on, and each of us shall pass, too, and that the course of service that we can provide here is a people's franchise. It is not a McDonald's franchise. It is a franchise that belongs to the people, and they, in the final analysis, have the determination to say whether in fact we serve or we do not serve. Those people in Queens that BEN ROSENTHAL represented over these many years, I believe that they were indeed fortunate to have a man like BEN ROSENTHAL serve them, because I am sure that there were times in his life that he questioned whether he should continue on in the legislative process or whether he should go into private practice. But he made the commitment to people.

So I guess, in summing up to my chairman, the dean of our New York State delegation, and to my good friend, Joseph Addabbo, your expressions today and those of us from the State of New York are just a reflection of what I believe is the reflection of so many people.

In closing, having been a strong supporter of Israel during my days as a State senator—not that it really meant that much as a State legislator—I remember coming here and being somewhat confused about the issue, and I must have spent hours and hours on the question of Israel and what to do about Israel and how to vote and what to say, and I remember once listening to BEN ROSENTHAL, and in 5 minutes he was able to so concisely and precisely tell me exactly what the facts were. I believe that was the hallmark of his life—being able to focus in, come right to the point, and make everybody understand it.

The city and State of New York suffered three significant losses this year with the retirement of Shirley Chisholm, Jack Bingham, and the tragic death of BEN ROSENTHAL.

BEN was a capable legislator who showed both insight and courage in his 20 years as a Member of Congress. His opposition to the war in Vietnam gave direction and respectability to congressional disapproval of the war. As a consumer advocate he was responsible for legislation for a consumer protection agency. Although, this bill never passed, BEN's advocacy for consumer rights helped keep Congress aware of these issues.

As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, BEN was a staunch defender of Israel. He was also a strong protector of human rights, and supported a firm but equitable U.S. foreign policy. His work on the committee will be missed.

I liked BEN ROSENTHAL. I also respected him. I am sure that I am speaking for not only the entire New York delegation, but the entire House when I say that he is already missed.

I would like to quote a passage from the Book of Psalms that is a fitting epitaph for BEN: "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: For the end of that man is peace." BEN may not have been perfect, but he was a good man. I am sure he has found his peace.

So in closing I would like to thank you, Mr. Stratton, and Mr. Addabbo.

Mr. MRAZEK. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues today in honoring the life and the spirit of the late BEN ROSENTHAL.

As a newcomer to this body, I missed the chance to know BEN as many of my colleagues knew him. I missed his courageous stands on behalf of the Nation's consumers and the State of Israel, and against the Vietnam war. And I was too late to experience the well-chronicled wit and commitment to purpose that we recall today.

That BEN's departure from this body and my arrival here coincided almost to the day is, of course, my loss. But BEN's work here, the spirit of his mission, will outlive him. We will always have BEN ROSENTHAL among us.

When I look back over BEN's career, one particular episode is especially relevant to my life. As early as 1965, long before public sentiment coalesced in this Nation against our involvement in Vietnam, BEN took a stand against the war. By his own estimate, perhaps less than 10 percent of his constituency agreed with his position at that time. He also took on the leadership of his own party and the President of the United States in taking this position.

At that time, in 1965, I also would have disagreed with BEN's assessment on Vietnam. My upbringing and my beliefs led me to the conclusion that Government would not delude our people on such an important matter. In 1967, I enlisted in the service. After being hurt, I spent several long months in a veterans hospital, listening to the stories of those who had been to Vietnam, hearing their frustration and pain over a war that had gone so very, very badly. I came to realize then that I had been wrong, and that men like BEN ROSENTHAL were right.

As BEN himself put it, "one Congressman with a fair amount of chutzpah can awaken the public conscience." The record shows, and his constituents knew, that BEN ROSENTHAL's particular brand of chutzpah was forever brought to bear on behalf of the world's underdogs, for his sense of fairness and equity would allow no less.

This body will miss the likes of BEN ROSENTHAL, but he has left a legacy that can guide us in the years ahead. I urge my colleagues and the people of this Nation to learn from BEN ROSENTHAL, as I once learned, and to keep his special message alive. In this way, we can offer our finest tribute to him, and pay him our deepest gratitude.

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in paying tribute to the late BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, a Congressman of rare courage and outspoken convictions.

As a friend of BEN, I watched him engage vigorously in both the combat of the legislative Chamber and the athletic court. He was, in the truest sense, an activist who gloried in the competition, who fought hard and relentlessly, and who was undaunted in his refusal to compromise his beliefs.

BEN would be the first to acknowledge that he was sometimes irritated and provoked, but that was his style. He was without preten-

sions and displayed a wit, sometimes biting, in public as well as private life. You never had to guess on which side of an issue BEN stood. He made it clear from the beginning.

In a sentimental tribute, BEN's constituents reelected him to his 11th term in the Congress, knowing that he was fatally afflicted with cancer. His death, a day after being sworn into the 93th Congress, served to remind us of that remarkable courage he displayed in working until the very end. He truly was a Member of the people's House and he never forgot it.

During his tenure as a U.S. Representative, BEN made major contributions to his own constituents and to the people of this Nation. Perhaps, he will be remembered best for his advocacy of the consumer. Not only his legislative endeavors, but his committee hearings were defined in terms of fulfilling his objectives. He was a sharp and analytical questioner, a tenacious advocate, and an innovative legislator.

BEN will be missed in the Congress by his colleagues regardless of their political persuasion. He contributed significantly during his 20-year career in the Congress. I trust that, as the years dim the pain of his passage, BEN's family will be comforted by the fact that BEN will be remembered as a respected and dedicated Congressman whose death diminished the legislative body for which he worked so hard and in which he took so much pride.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, it is not always that a Member of the House of Representatives is able to leave his mark on this House, but certainly BEN ROSENTHAL was one who not only left his mark here on the House of Representatives but also on the community which he represents and the constituents whom he represented. I think that was brought home to all of us in the funeral ceremony that was held in his community in the Borough of Queens. Some 75 Members of the House turned out to honor him on a very cold and inclement day and, beyond that, the pouring out of the constituents from his district demonstrated the esteem and the love with which they held him.

BEN came to the Congress, as has already been indicated, in a special election, but he very soon became a knowledgeable Member of the House and in many respects a very substantial leader in the House. He and I served for a number of years as New York State whips. I was the upstate whip and BEN was the downstate whip.

Later on he was selected as a deputy whip, which is a senior position in the leadership of the House of Representatives.

He was a very talented and sometimes ascerbic investigator with the various investigations that he conducted through the Committee on Government Operations.

As has already been indicated, one of his major objectives was the establishment of a Consumer Protection Agency, but BEN was never to be completely successful in that particular undertaking.

As has already been indicated, BEN was one of the earliest opponents of the Vietnam war. I can remember that time, because as a member of the Armed Services Committee, I believed that we were doing the right thing. He proposed that perhaps we ought to have a series of daily debates here in the well of the House on that subject. That never materialized, but BEN certainly had a considerable influence in the eventual outcome of the war and the turning around of the support that came from the Congress of the United States.

BEN, as we all remember, was one of three individuals in the House; our former colleague John Brademas, now the president of New York University; Paul Sarbanes, now a Member of the other body, and BEN took a very firm and decisive stand as a result of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. The three of them succeeded in putting on an embargo of all military material to Turkey. I think, in retrospect, many of us recognize that that action, however well-intentioned it may have been, was probably a mistake and it has to some extent created problems in the southern flank of our North Atlantic alliance; but BEN was sincere certainly in his objectives.

He was regarded and I am sure will always be regarded as a hero of the Greek people.

As has already been indicated, BEN was one of the first members of the New York City congressional delegation to bring his family to Washington so that he could be, as has been indicated by the gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. Kastenmeier, a full-time Congressman.

Since I as a Member from upstate New York had also brought my family, we were neighbors in Bethesda and we very frequently would run across each other in the community and very frequently would run across each other in Rehoboth or Bethany Beach during the summer recess.

I think probably more than anything BEN will be remembered for the courage with which he endured the closing days of his life.

He knew some 3 years ago that he had contracted cancer, but it never dimmed his enthusiasm. It never dimmed his wit and he very rarely referred to his illness in spite of the fact that it became obvious after a while that he was gradually losing that battle, but he would refuse to admit what was going to happen. He was determined, as has already been indicated, to be one who would carry out his duties to the very last.

We in Congress, as I said at the outset, are going to miss him and miss him very greatly.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, when I came to Congress, a few weeks more than 20 years ago the first colleague I met was BEN ROSENTHAL, then a veteran Member of a month or so.

On that day began a friendship that has been one of the most important parts of my life.

In addition to the delightful personal aspects of our friendship, there was the day-to-day working together for goals we thought important.

BEN was our leader in the establishment of the group, 11 House Members who agreed that even though our ideals were far out to some, and would provide ammunition to our opponents in the next election, we would go ahead and present them to the American people.

The original group was BEN ROSENTHAL, George Brown, Phillip Burton, John Conyers, Bob Eckhardt, Don Fraser, Bob Kastenmeier, Abner Mikva, John Dow, William Fitz Ryan, and I.

We worked together to end the Vietnam war. We held ad hoc hearings when congressional committees did not want to. We wrote a book "War Crimes and the American Conscience". It did not win the Pulitzer Prize, but its publication made us feel better.

The Vietnam war ended, finally, when the House of Representatives finally voted no more money, something BEN ROSENTHAL had been demanding for years.

During that same era a military dictatorship was running Greece. Opposition politicians, artists, composers, anyone who publicly disagreed with "The Colonels", would likely find themselves in jail. And, disturbingly, the American Government supported with money and arms this cruel junta that was persecuting the Greek people.

BEN ROSENTHAL did not like what was going on in Greece nor the American complicity in it. He became an active member of the U.S. Committee for Democracy in Greece, chaired first by Congress-

man Don Fraser, later by me. As an influential member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee BEN kept up a dialogue with the U.S. State Department and the White House, explaining in his persuasive way why American policy was wrong and even immoral.

BEN ROSENTHAL was, and is today, a hero in Athens. The Greek peoples loved and admired him. On a trip there after the fall of the military dictatorship, BEN was welcomed and thanked as only our Greek friends know how.

By this time, the mid-1970's, BEN ROSENTHAL was looked upon as an extraordinary national figure. For the 200 million American consumers, he was No. 1.

As the Washington Post's eloquent obituary pointed out:

He took up the cudgels for the little man, not only with diligence, but with a dramatic flair that drew national attention to the issues he raised and to himself as their champion.

And BEN would have liked the line from the beautiful editorial in the Washington Post.

BEN ROSENTHAL was no shrinking violet, no TV smoothie, no seeker of consensus. He believed in fighting hard for the things he cared about.

The New Republic, a magazine that does not often praise public men or women, said this:

"Only Congressmen with a fair amount of chutzpah can awaken the public conscience," BEN ROSENTHAL once said. Mr. ROSENTHAL had plenty of chutzpah. He opposed the Vietnam war from the day he was elected to Congress, from a Queens district, in 1962. He carved out an impressive record as a champion of poor people and consumers, and he was the first and only legislator to investigate OPEC's huge and often concealed operations in the United States. In his quiet, persevering way, BEN ROSENTHAL showed that one man can make a difference, and his death leaves Congress and the country poorer.

During all of the years of these two decades, BEN brought to all the Members of the House and Senate a feeling that while we might be adversaries on some issues, we were all working together for common goals—peace on Earth and a decent existence for all the world's people.

His popularity in the Congress was unmatched despite the fact that he was fearless in his advocacy. The chairman of more than one

major House committee was challenged when BEN ROSENTHAL believed he was not doing his job.

Some years ago BEN discovered tennis, and paddleball. Somewhat to his surprise, because he had never been athletically inclined, he became proficient at both games. It was great fun to play with him, and Bob Kastenmeier, Abner Mikva, Bill Lehman, Sonny Montgomery and I can certify as to the velocity of his forehand. His dear Lila also grew to love tennis, and they had many happy hours on the courts.

More than 75 Members of the House and Senate, of both parties, including our Speaker, flew to New York City to attend BEN's funeral and to say goodbye to him. Mayor Edward Koch spoke movingly. The Governor was present. Every seat was taken; standing people lined the walls and spilled out into the street. The rabbi spoke about BEN, his life, his contributions to American life and his close and loving relationship to his family, Lila, Debbie, Edward, and his mother.

BEN ROSENTHAL leaves his constituents privileged for having had him as their extraordinarily talented and creative Congressman. He leaves Lila and his children privileged for having had him as husband and dad. To those of us in Congress, he leaves a tradition of spirited, high-minded service and, importantly, the very special privilege of a friendship that will mean much to us the rest of our lives.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, BEN ROSENTHAL was my very dear friend and I will miss him greatly. My memories of BEN go back to his very early years in the House, and from the beginning of our friendship, I recognized and admired the very considerable intelligence and energy of the man.

BEN ROSENTHAL believed very strongly in a positive and active role for Government and until the very end, he battled for the people of his district, the American consumer, and the cause of enlightened and principled government. We worked together on numerous issues, including the efforts to halt the war in Vietnam. We in this House have lost a very fine and talented colleague. The American people have lost an effective advocate. Addie joins me in extending our heartfelt sympathy to Lila and his family.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York, Mr. Stratton, for taking out this special order so that the Members can express their sorrow at the passing of Congressman BEN ROSENTHAL, who will be sorely missed in this body. BEN served his

New York constituents well and he was the American consumers best friend in Congress, and I know this institution will not be the same without him.

For the nearly 20 years he served in this body, BEN ROSENTHAL worked to insure better and fairer pricing in many areas for consumers. Whether it was supermarket pricing or price speculating in the silver market, BEN worked hard to ferret out consumer fraud and injustices. He used his Government Operations Subcommittee as a forum for publicizing such frauds and for legislating solutions to these problems.

BEN spent 14 years trying to establish a Federal consumer protection agency. Although he was able to move a bill establishing such an agency through the House, and eventually to the President's desk, he was unsuccessful in achieving his ultimate goal because of Presidential opposition. He should be lauded for his tireless efforts in this area.

BEN was an outspoken Member of Congress, who was not afraid to voice his opinion, no matter how unpopular it might have been at the time, whether it was his opposition to the Vietnam war, or his advocacy for a consumer protection agency. As a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, he was a strong supporter of Israel, and offered that country his complete and unabiding support during the Arab boycott.

As a fellow deputy whip for the Democratic leadership, I was able to work with BEN on a regular basis, and I found him to be as hard working and persistent as any Member of Congress. Even during his long illness BEN continued to work for the things to which he had devoted these last 20 years. He was a man of great courage, and I am deeply saddened by his death. I offer my sincerest condolences to his wife, the former Lila Moskowitz, his two children, Edward and Debra, his mother, Ceil Rosenthal, and his sister, Lola Ostreicher.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, it is with a strong sense of personal loss that I rise before this body to add my voice to those of our colleagues in tribute to BEN ROSENTHAL.

A beloved member of our New York delegation, BEN was an effective legislator who loved his city, loved his State, and loved his country. Unafraid to champion causes without rich or powerful constituencies, BEN started to vote against the Vietnam war far before it was fashionable to do so. And years of his career were devoted to protecting consumers against industry's excesses. Above all, he was

a legislator with a strong conscience and the determination to see that right was done.

I will miss BEN as a fellow legislator, but even more I will miss him as a friend. A Member with four terms already under his belt when I first came to the Capitol, BEN took me and my fellow freshmen under his wing. Congress after Congress, he was sensitive to the needs of the newer Members. Friendly guidance from a senior Member was greatly valued and greatly appreciated.

To his very last days, BEN was taking care of his friends and his delegation. As his own time ticked slowly away, he was insuring that things were in order for those who would follow—true service to the Congress, to the delegation, and to his friends.

BEN ROSENTHAL has left us a legacy we will not forget. He taught us to be effective while never losing his own values in the process. We, as a Nation, are poorer, we, as a Congress, are poorer, and we, his friends, are poorer for his departure.

There is an old saying, “Nobody dies until they’re forgotten.” Well that means BEN ROSENTHAL will be with us forever.

Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, I take the floor today with many of my colleagues to describe the loss we all feel at the passing of BEN ROSENTHAL. In this brief space, it is impossible to convey the meaning and profound significance of BEN’s contributions to this body and to the American public.

This extraordinary man represented a role model for young, eager Members who came to Washington with dreams of remaking society into the just world that our forebears envisioned in the Constitution. As a freshman Congressman serving on BEN’s Government Operations Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer, and Monetary Affairs, I witnessed firsthand those qualities that inspired other legislators to toil tenaciously and loyally for the Nation’s good. The opportunity of working with BEN ROSENTHAL in such a meaningful and collegial way is one for which I am grateful and shall always treasure.

Indeed, any person who observed BEN’s congressional career since he came to Washington in 1962 cannot but be impressed by his courage. As a relatively new Member of Congress in the 1960’s, he incurred the wrath of President Lyndon Johnson by strenuously opposing the Vietnam war and holding public forums to discuss fundamental flaws in U.S. policy toward that war-stricken Nation. On the domestic scene, he took an interest in the impact of governmental policy on consumers. Once BEN had decided what constituted

appropriate policy in this area, he remained a constant ally to this cause. This trait was evidenced by his persistent albeit unsuccessful efforts to insure that the voice of the American consumer was heard in Washington by establishing a cabinet-level Consumer Protection Agency.

BEN's incomparable record of achievement is one that should instruct and inspire us all. By following his example of courageous statesmanship, we fully pay BEN ROSENTHAL the highest tribute—one which he richly deserves.

Mr. FAUNTROY. Mr. Speaker, it is a very special man that we honor today, our late colleague, the Honorable BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL.

My first encounter with our late friend and colleague took place on the way to Selma, Ala., when Congressman ROSENTHAL was responding to a call by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., to come to Selma, Ala., following the brutal beatings that had taken place.

The concern for civil and human rights manifested at that time was a hallmark of Congressman ROSENTHAL's life and his 20 years of service in this great body.

On behalf of those who shaped and have attempted to implement the dream of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., I join in paying tribute to our late colleague.

I hope that we will learn from the example of Congressman ROSENTHAL and will rededicate ourselves to the ideals and principles for which he lived.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to join with Members of the New York delegation and my other House colleagues in paying tribute today to BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL, who died of cancer on January 4.

BEN ROSENTHAL was one of my closest friends here in the Congress. This friendship came about through our interest in sports. He and I played tennis along with Representatives Don Edwards, Bob Kastenmeier, and Bill Lehman and Judge Abner Mikva. We all enjoyed this fellowship together during more relaxing times.

I always found BEN very knowledgeable and easy to talk to when I had a question concerning foreign affairs, and particularly about matters pertaining to Israel.

BEN was blessed with a wit that was enjoyed by all who knew him and I also enjoyed how he gave nicknames to many of the people he

knew well. His friendship and counsel meant a great deal to me and I considered it a great privilege to have served with BEN.

It goes without saying that we will miss BEN ROSENTHAL's knowledge and leadership abilities in the House of Representatives. His 20 years of service to this Chamber and this great Nation were truly outstanding. He was a most capable and effective Congressman and I am glad I had the chance to serve with him.

Mr. TOWNS. Mr. Speaker, as a new Member of the New York congressional delegation, I did not have the privilege to serve in the House of Representatives with our colleague, BEN ROSENTHAL. I am aware, however, of his great contributions as an advocate for consumer protection. His commitment to this issue lead him to fight for an independent Consumer Protection Agency.

The gentleman from Queens County, N.Y., made another significant contribution that I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues. As an educator, BEN ROSENTHAL firmly believed that a separate, Federal Education Department was bad public policy. Out of strong conviction and principle, he helped to lead the fight against the separate Department of Education even though it meant opposing the White House initiative from his own party. Throughout the congressional hearings on this legislation, he repeatedly fought for the rights of the poor and disadvantaged in a separate Department of Education. For example, Indian education programs remained with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, as desired by the Indian tribal councils, largely due to his influence. Perhaps his greatest contribution, however, was a series of civil rights amendments which raised the Office of Civil Rights in the Department to the Assistant Secretary level and made other improvements in its civil rights enforcement capability.

His tireless efforts on behalf of the disadvantaged will be sorely missed; but his contributions to civil rights in education will never be forgotten.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to rise in honor of our late friend and colleague, the Honorable BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL. During his 20 years in this Chamber, BEN ROSENTHAL was a dedicated protector of consumer concerns, and served well as chairman of the Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer, and Monetary Affairs. He was concerned as well with our Middle Eastern relations, and was a valuable senior member of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East.

Mr. ROSENTHAL will be missed in this Chamber—by his colleagues, by his committees, and by his staff—but it is my sincere hope that he will continue to live in our memory as we pursue the business of the 98th Congress.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to join with my colleagues in this special order to pay tribute to our departed friend from the State of New York, the Honorable BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL.

Born in the Bronx and raised in Queens, BEN served in the Army during World War II and later graduated from Brooklyn Law School. While practicing law in New York, BEN became quite active in the Democratic Party in Queens.

He was elected to the 87th Congress in a special election in February 1962. In the two decades that followed, he repeatedly proved himself to be a capable leader and a dedicated friend to the American consumer. I admired him not only for his legislative wit but also for his outspoken manner in which he, almost single handedly, championed many causes in behalf of the consumer.

Although I did not have the privilege to serve on any of the same committees as BEN, we often ate lunch together and it was through these meetings in which we became friends.

BEN had the uncanny ability to understand just how far he could go to accomplish goals. He was highly motivated when doing his job and this was ever present when he went to bat for projects which directly benefited the residents of New York City. Unlike most New York Members, BEN lived right here in the Washington area year round and this enabled him to work around the clock for his constituents. He never forgot where his roots were, and was totally committed in making this world a better place to live. His efforts in behalf of protecting the consumer through Government policies will be sorely missed.

Mr. Speaker, I know you and my colleagues join my wife, Lee, and me in sending sincere condolences to BEN's wife, Lila, his son, Edward, and his daughter Debra. His friendship and service will always be remembered.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to express my deep personal sadness at the death of our colleague, BEN ROSENTHAL. We have lost a dedicated public servant who will long be remembered as the champion of the American consumer.

I served with BEN on both the Government Operations Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee and developed through the years a very high regard for his dedication and perseverance as well as his intellect and ability—not to mention his unique style. As chairman of the Government Operations Committee's Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer, and Monetary Affairs, he led the congressional battle for the average consumer. I was happy to join with him in many of his efforts including his fight to establish a separate Department of Consumer Affairs. His unique approach, unorthodox though it often was, did serve, as he was quick to point out, to awaken the "public conscience."

During his service on the Foreign Affairs Committee, BEN served as chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, and established the biannual exchange with a delegation of the European Parliament, which is about to meet for its 21st session later this month. Also while chairman of the subcommittee, he led the fight to embargo military aid to Turkey following the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. He was a vigorous champion of the cause of Israel and consistently opposed arms sales to nations hostile to Israel. In particular he was a leading opponent of AWACS sales.

BEN will also be remembered by many as an early opponent of the Vietnam war. He was one of the first opponents of military appropriations for that purpose.

In spite of his illness, he stayed active in foreign affairs and most recently opposed military aid to El Salvador and sought workable solutions to that crisis.

BEN will be remembered for these and many other substantive contributions to our foreign policy. But it is his acerbic wit—which he often directed at himself as well as at others—that I will miss. We must always have someone to remind us that we are fallible, human, and to nudge us when they think we need to right an injustice. BEN ROSENTHAL was such a person.

I extend my sympathies to Mrs. Rosenthal and family. The Nation, the Congress, and particularly the Seventh District of New York have lost a great advocate.

Mr. LEHMAN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the tragic and untimely passing of Representative BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL is a great loss to us all. Our Nation has lost a most effective and caring legislator who, through his persistent pursuit of fairness for all Americans, symbolized the finest values in our American democratic tradition.

BEN was not only a colleague with whom I shared common ground on many issues, but one who also had an admirable and rare ethical sense that assisted him in his ability to expose the logical fallacies inherent in a faulty argument. He was highly respected by his colleagues, and he was loved by his friends. His friendship these last several years has enormously enhanced my tenure in the House and my life in Washington.

He did not allow his illness to keep him from phoning me several times during the last weeks of the 97th Congress while I was recuperating from surgery. He was worried about me when he had every right to be concerned only of himself. I will never forget the trip BEN and his wife Lila made to Miami in 1980 to appear at a campaign breakfast for me. The event turned into a nostalgic reunion for BEN and his former precinct captains who retired to Miami from Brooklyn and were now politically active in my district. He announced to great applause that he would not only be able to come south to retire but to also have a district to run from.

I will miss his wit, his compassion, and his special caring for his friends and for those fortunate to have him represent their interests in Congress. I deeply mourn his loss and extend my heartfelt sympathy to widow, Lila, and to the rest of the Rosenthal family.

Mr. BARNARD. Mr. Speaker, it was my honor and privilege to have the opportunity of serving with BEN ROSENTHAL for a short period of time on the Commerce, Consumer, and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee of the Government Affairs Committee. It was there that I was able to watch this dedicated Congressman at work, and I have never observed anyone more earnest, more dedicated, or more energetic in the pursuit of his goals.

I came to admire BEN's incisive mind, his ability to investigate and interrogate and probe to the bottom of any given matter. Propelling his work was a desire to achieve efficiency and economy in Government, but underlying that was always an abiding concern for the human beings involved.

Now that I have the privilege and opportunity to take up the task as chairman of the Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer, and Monetary Affairs, following in BEN ROSENTHAL's tracks will be challenging indeed. If I can even come close to matching the zeal which he showed for his work, and the care he showed for those with whom he came in contact, then I will count myself fortunate.

Mr. CARR. Mr. Speaker, Congressman BEN ROSENTHAL's death is a tragic loss to his family, his district, and indeed the whole country. He will go down in the history of the Congress as a bold and highly effective spokesman for American consumers, a constituency often inadequately represented within these Halls. He was also a close personal friend to me, and I shall miss him deeply.

Mr. HEFTEL of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of sadness that I mark the passing of our good friend and colleague, BEN ROSENTHAL. However, it is with great pride that I comment upon his many accomplishments in the Congress, and upon the magnificent service he rendered to the American people.

BEN was a thoughtful, compassionate man who deeply respected the institution of the Congress and used its vast resources to the benefit of his fellow men. As a staunch consumer advocate, BEN never wavered in his insistence that the public interest never be subordinated to any other interest. He was that rare legislator who fought hard for the things he believed in even when the political winds might have swayed a lesser man. BEN was in the forefront of the movement which brought an end to America's tragic involvement in Vietnam and he was a staunch supporter of Israel, a nation which remains one of America's most indispensable allies.

BEN served in the House of Representatives for 20 years, years of great change in the United States, in our way of life. Yet, BEN never wavered in his basic philosophy that he would serve the public interest with no feelings of trepidation, for that was his job.

Mr. Speaker, we will all miss BEN in the coming days, but are better, for having served with him, for having shared his wit and his wisdom and his dreams.

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sadness that I rise today to honor a dear friend and close colleague who is no longer with us. BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL was unquestionably one of the most effective, capable, and respected Members of the U.S. House of Representatives.

I had the opportunity to serve with BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL on the House Foreign Affairs Committee since 1969, and witness firsthand his many legislative skills and abilities. He was a close confidant and powerful ally on many issues. I never hesitated to turn to him for counsel and advice. His judgment was sound and well-

balanced. He possessed a keen and probing mind which enabled him to indefatigably pursue the truth, often obtaining facts from reluctant committee witnesses. BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL believed, as I do, that Israel is a close and strategically important ally and he actively worked to preserve America's commitment to that country.

BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL was a multidimensional and multitalented legislator, as evidenced by his outstanding accomplishments as a member of the House Government Operations Committee and chairman of its Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer, and Monetary Affairs. He used his position on the committee to speak out and work for the interests of the American consumer. BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL had a deep and abiding concern for social justice. He brought to national attention the problems of the consumer and raised the public consciousness of the plight of the poor and powerless. BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL was instrumental in the enactment of initiatives to protect consumer rights and interests.

BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL contributed much to the betterment of the American way of life, and we will miss him greatly. But, even as we mourn his death, we celebrate because such a man as he was among us. The joy of his memory will last far longer than the pain and sorrow of his death. His service to the people of New York and this country will remain unsurpassed. BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL was a sincere and dedicated public servant who should serve as an example to all of us in public life.

I want to express my deepest sympathy to his lovely wife Lila and entire Rosenthal family.

Mr. SISISKY. Mr. Speaker, BEN ROSENTHAL had the courage to speak when it was more comfortable to remain silent. He had the enviable ability to shape our national policy while never forgetting his oath to serve the people back home.

I extend my deepest sympathy to his family. I am also saddened that the freshmen Members of this body, like myself, will not have the opportunity to work with this exceptional legislator and great statesman.

Mr. LENT. Mr. Speaker, all of us in the House of Representatives have felt a deep loss at the passing of our friend and colleague, BEN ROSENTHAL.

Although BEN's political ideology differed from my own, I had great respect for his courage, his compassion, and his fine sense of principle. As an active Member of the New York congressional delegation, BEN was dedicated to the problems of his constituents, especially the aged, the minorities, and the disadvantaged. The hard work and dedication BEN brought to his job as Representative for New York's Eighth Congressional District was a trademark of his.

As an elected official, BEN enjoyed the overwhelming support of his constituents who recognized and appreciated his honesty, sincerity, and concern for their well-being. His election victories attest to this popularity.

I particularly admired BEN's strong support of Israel. During his years in the Congress, we worked together in developing support in the Congress for our most dependable ally in the Middle East. Furthermore, BEN was extremely active in congressional efforts in behalf of Soviet Jews.

Mr. Speaker, I join my saddened colleagues in extending condolences and sympathies to his wife and his family. Their loss is truly great.

Mr. ERLNBORN. Mr. Speaker, I would be remiss if I did not join in paying tribute to BEN ROSENTHAL, my good friend and our departed colleague.

During our service in Congress, we meet and work with people of varying stripes and philosophies. BEN and I were certainly different in many respects. He was of one party, and I of another. He was of one faith, and I of another. He was at one extreme on the political spectrum, and I at another. At a glance, some might say the only bond between us was that we both hailed from the town of Elmhurst—he from Elmhurst, N.Y., and I from Elmhurst, Ill.

Yet what we remember, what stands out among our associations in Congresses is not our differences, not the many times we were on the opposite side of the issues. Rather what stands out in our memory is how we worked together and the firm friendships that formed along the way.

BEN and I had a firm bond of friendship. We even joked about having a law partnership after we retire—with BEN on one philosophical extreme and me on the other, we figured we could cover the waterfront.

Our private joke is over, but not my fond memory of BEN. He was an outstanding spokesman for the people who elected him, and a courageous and good human being to the very end. What more can be said of anyone?

Mr. JONES of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, far too often in recent years, we have taken this floor to pay tribute to colleagues who have passed away far too early in life, robbing their families and this institution of their spirit and vigor. Today, we again mark a sad day in our history as we note the passing of our most esteemed colleague, BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL. However, we must remember how lucky we were to have a man of his substance and determination in our midst; he truly embodied the best of this House and the very best of the democratic spirit.

The Borough of Queens, and the consumers of this Nation, never lacked an advocate while BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL served in the House. No Member of this body ever devoted more time to the issue of consumer protection, and no person ever worked harder for a consumer protection agency. He angered some with his zeal, but no one could deny that he pursued his goals with the very best intention: the good of the American public.

As one publication noted in 1981:

Back in 1962, BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL was elected to Congress in this district. At that time, he looked like another Democratic machine hack: a product of local schools, with a Queens law practice, young enough to be interested in holding the seat for a few terms until a judgeship opened up. But ROSENTHAL turned out to be a committed and effective Congressman.

He was indeed a most effective and committed Congressman. He was also a splendid human being, and I will miss his presence in this House.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I would point out that our colleague, the gentleman from California, Mr. Edwards, has taken the trouble to compile a series of news clippings that appeared in the press both in Washington and in New York State with reference to the achievements of Congressman ROSENTHAL. I ask unanimous consent that those be included also in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The newspaper clippings above referred to are as follows:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 5, 1983]

BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL, CONGRESSMAN FROM QUEENS FOR TWO
DECADES, DIES

WASHINGTON, January 4.—Representative BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL of Queens, a leading liberal Democrat who was elected to his 11th term in November, died today of cancer at Georgetown University Hospital.

Mr. ROSENTHAL, who was 59 years old and had been ill for 2 years, had been sworn in at his bedside in the hospital on Monday.

He won reelection in the newly drawn Seventh District in Queens, which shifted south from his old Eighth District in north central Queens to include Forest Hills, Kew Gardens, Richmond Hill, Rego Park and Bellerose on the Nassau County border.

INTERIM SUCCESSOR TO BE NAMED

Patrick F. X. Mulhearn, counsel to Mayor Koch, said yesterday that an interim successor to Mr. ROSENTHAL would be selected by the Queens County Democratic Committee.

According to State election law, he said, a special election would then be called by the Governor. That election must be held not sooner than 30 days and not more than 40 days after the date that the Governor signs the proclamation for the special election. The law does not specify when the Governor must act.

Except for extraordinary circumstances, the Democratic candidate would be the interim successor chosen by the county committee, Mr. Mulhearn said. There would be no primary.

A general election for the seat would be held on election day in November, Mr. Mulhearn said.

Mayor Koch, in a statement, said: "BEN ROSENTHAL was a great Congressman, a wonderful husband and father and a close friend. His compassion and effectiveness have earned him an honored place among New York's great legislators."

Mr. Koch ordered the city's flags to be lowered to half-staff in tribute.



ADVOCATE FOR THE CONSUMER

(By Maurice Carroll)

Mr. ROSENTHAL was first elected to Congress in 1962 as the choice of "regular" Democrats in a complicated special election.

He went on to become an outspoken leader of consumer causes and, as his seniority grew, an increasingly effective advocate for the city.

When still new in the House, he began, much earlier than most, to speak out against the Vietnam War. "It was a very lonely road," he said when, after opposition to the war became more general, a number of Members of

Congress arranged for an all-night vigil in the House to coincide with anti-war demonstrations by students.

10 PERCENT AGREED WITH ME

As he helped organize the vigil, he recalled the earlier, lonelier days. When he first took his antiwar stand in 1965, he said, "maybe 10 percent of my district agreed with me."

For the most part, though, Mr. ROSENTHAL was in tune with his constituents and he did not forget the political truism that politics is a local trade. "He never 'went Washington.'" said one Capitol Hill friend. "He was totally oriented to New York."

But he lived close to his job. Early in his Congressional tenure, he broke with the air commutation pattern practiced by many New Yorkers in Congress—Tuesday to Thursday in Washington, with weekends politicking at home. Although he kept a voting address in Elmhurst, Queens, Mr. ROSENTHAL, his wife, the former Lila Moskowitz, and their two children made their permanent home in Bethesda, Md.

A DEFENDER OF ISRAEL

In International affairs, Mr. ROSENTHAL was a vigorous defender of Israel. At home, he supported the compromise that turned an unpopular low-income housing project in Forest Hills into a cooperative instead.

On Capitol Hill, Mr. ROSENTHAL was regarded as a perceptive analyst of motivation and of what could be accomplished. He wanted to win, not just make points.

He berated one fellow New Yorker who had, in his view, sabotaged an effort to win a House leadership post for the city delegation with a maneuver aimed at a mayoral election. That, Mr. ROSENTHAL said scornfully, was "playing a local game."

Nevertheless, his own involvement in New York City's increasingly intertwined relationships with Washington was considerable.

He started with the watchfulness over district projects that are a Congressional standard. He came to play an important role in the drive to win Federal support to help the city out of its fiscal problems in the mid-1970's.

As a member of the Government Operations Committee, he issued a report in 1976 that criticized the administration of President Gerald R. Ford for "preoccupation with fiscal brinkmanship" during New York's fiscal troubles.

SHAPED POLICY AND PRACTICE

In Congress, he wielded power through investigations and an ability to call attention to issues more than through writing legislation. In this way he helped shape administration policy and agency practice.

BENJAMIN STANLEY ROSENTHAL, who was born on June 8, 1923, in the Bronx was brought up in Queens and attended City College. In 1949, after wartime service as a military policeman in Iceland, he graduated from Brooklyn Law School. And like many other young lawyers, he began to dabble in politics.

In 1962, the incumbent in the Eighth Congressional District became a judge, and after complex maneuvering involving numerous candidates Mr. ROSENTHAL emerged as the choice of Mayor Robert F. Wagner. He went on to win in a special election.

He is survived by his wife, the former Lila Moskowitz; a son, Edward, of Bethesda; a daughter, Debra Mandel of Philadelphia; his mother, Ceil, of Queens, and a sister, Lola Ostreicher, of New Hyde Park, L.I.

His chief legislative assistant, Steven Cohen, said funeral arrangements were incomplete.



[From the Washington Post, Jan. 16, 1983]

TWO MATTERS OF QUALITY

(By David S. Broder)

Two columns for the price of one today: the first on a problem that is all too prevalent, the second on two politicians embodying a quality that is all too rare.

The too common problem is hardship in this time of economic recession. We all know it surrounds us, afflicts our communities and our fellow citizens. But how many of us and how severely?

The answer to those questions is not a matter of pedantry but an essential prerequisite for framing intelligent national policy to target scarce dollars for maximum results.

Juanita Kreps, Secretary of Commerce in the Carter administration, and seven other distinguished economists have come out with a report showing that the methods the Federal Government now uses to measure economic hardship are "seriously deficient" for the job.

Those measures—principally the unemployment and poverty statistics—can seriously distort and disguise the scope and nature of the problem, exaggerating it at times and obscuring it at others.

For example, Kreps and her colleagues calculate that, in 1979, "more than half of those who were unemployed at some time . . . lived in households with total annual incomes in excess of \$15,000." On the other hand, in 1981, "more than five million workers, who were never officially unemployed, lived in poverty."

Since the need to alleviate poverty is immediate, while the programs to reduce unemployment may well have to be long-term in scope, it is imperative to be able to measure these problems as precisely as possible—and to distinguish them from each other.

The statistics now available, according to Kreps and her colleagues, suggest that low wages and limited hours of employment caused more hardship, at least in 1979, than did unemployment.

But the need, they point out, is for data that is more current and geographically precise. "Basic hardship counts can now be calculated for the

Nation, for multistate regions, and for the 10 most populous States," they point out, but not for the other 40 States and not for local labor markets.

The money it would take to improve and refine that data would be money well spent.

As for the quality that is too rare in politics, the one I'm thinking about is the combination of gentleness in personal dealings and absolute fearlessness in policy battles. The national supply of that quality was severely diminished by the deaths, just a few days apart, of Rep. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL (D-N.Y.) and former Oregon Gov. Tom McCall (R), both victims of cancer.

Both of them were fierce fighters for the causes they believed in: Consumerism in ROSENTHAL's case, environmentalism in McCall's. Both were instinctive civil libertarians, sensitive to any hint of bigotry or bullying. Their views of the outer world could not have been more opposite. McCall was a hawk from beginning to end of the Vietnam War, while ROSENTHAL was an early and passionate critic of the war.

What really made them stand out was their readiness to put aside any thought of political prudence and tackle the tough guys of their own parties when those antagonists were at the height of their power. ROSENTHAL did it with Lyndon Johnson, McCall with Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew.

But off the stump, these were two of the gentlest gentlemen in politics. They had no pomp in their makeup. Both of them could walk away from a fight and come up laughing. They invited teasing, and could outdo anyone in parodying the way they sounded when they were in full flight of rhetorical battle.

They were, in their individual and inventive ways, obstreperous, but deliberately so, calculating, cunningly so. They devoted serious thought to devising the best techniques for needling their opponents or upsetting a gathering consensus. And because they loved that arena of political combat so well, they accomplished much more—and left more people mourning them—than those who are more decorous and detached.

Neither BEN ROSENTHAL nor Tom McCall ever forgot that the battling they so enjoyed depends, ultimately, on tolerance of dissent. More than most people in politics, they showed how to love their adversaries, for without their adversaries, there would be no one to sustain the quarrels they so dearly loved.

The sound of their voices raised in battle will be missed. And so will their laughter.



[From the Washington Post, Jan. 18, 1983]

BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL: IN TRIBUTE

(By Colman McCarthy)

Like a large ventilation shaft, the enthusiasm of Representative BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL (D-N.Y.) for politics had a pulling power of inrushing force. I was drawn to him, as were many others in the press, by his swift candor and his unstudied leaps into gray issues, getting grayer, that he believed deserved black-and-white solutions.

ROSENTHAL, a tall, slender man who could move through masses of people at political gatherings like a current through water, died of cancer the other day at 59. He was beginning his third decade of service to a section of Queens, N.Y., that ranged from the urban brittleness of Jamaica to the oaked side streets of Forest Hills.

One of my last conversations with ROSENTHAL, early last summer, was about his cancer. He had been fighting it for nearly 2 years and now, like a palm pulled away from a candle flame, he thought its pain was gone. I asked if he would be interested in joining a group of cancer patients who met weekly with some psychiatrists who also had cancer. It was attitude therapy, the goal being to use one's mental attitude to strengthen the body's immune system against cancer cells. The group would have welcomed him.

"Yeah, yeah," ROSENTHAL said in Queens diction, "I oughtta go, and I know my wife would want me to. But I pass."

He explained, bulldozing away a pile of polite excuses, that he was too restless a fellow to sit for a couple of hours hashing over his illness. It would be too much talking about himself with other people talking about themselves. I told him he was oversimplifying. Of course he was, he laughed, but too many other things demanded his attention besides his body.

During the 1970's, one of the core goals to which ROSENTHAL and other congressional liberals paid attention was legislation for a consumer protection agency. A modest restoration of marketplace fairness was due the consumer in this age of the recall. Citizens didn't need a selling job on the need for an agency: Polls showed they wanted it by nearly 2 to 1.

ROSENTHAL pressed one argument: "Today's typical consumer is tempted into the marketplace by promises of product perfection. But the system that produces, promotes, sells, and services that product can more accurately be characterized by the reality of planned obsolescence and poor quality control."

The legislation, which at one time passed the Senate 74 to 4 and a House committee 24 to 4, became a victim of the antiregulation mood change. ROSENTHAL saw nearly a decade of effort swept away by the suddenly popular appeal of the well-bankrolled argument that big government was the enemy and another government agency wouldn't help. The day ROSENTHAL died, a news story told of General Motors, a leader in denunciations of Federal regulation, being involved in still another recall of lemons.

On occasion, ROSENTHAL was abrupt. He could vent sarcasm on the hyper-subtle strategist. But that wasn't the tone of his personality. He was warm-hearted once the Queens scrappiness was penetrated. Four years ago, when Michael Pertschuk, then the chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, saw his agency being pummeled out of shape by the beltings of Congress, he sought out ROSENTHAL for advice.

"Get up here," ROSENTHAL told him. "Let them see that you are not crazy. And it would help if you would make yourself a few friends—the House is a very personal place."

His own philosophy of politics also stressed the personal. As a senior member of the Government Operations Committee, he knew how to organize committee investigations that would publicize the victimization of citizens by unethical companies. He had no patience with nebbishes who charged that he was knee jerk antibusiness. He was pro business, he would shoot back;

marketplace honesty benefited the ethical merchants because it decreased the competitive edge held by the companies that cheated consumers.

On the Foreign Affairs Committee, ROSENTHAL was a dam-burst of energy for human rights. As a frequent visitor to Israel, he came to love the country for its ideals. Last summer, the violent excesses of the Begin government in Lebanon strained him considerably. He was a friend of Israel but he would not be a blind friend. He saw that much had gone wrong.

ROSENTHAL died courageously. Some 80 Senate and House Members attended his funeral in Queens. This large display of affection equaled the large service BEN ROSENTHAL gave to the country.



REPRESENTATIVE BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL, CONSUMER ADVOCATE, DIES

(By J. Y. Smith)

BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, 59, a New York Democrat who earned a reputation for steadfast and sharp-tongued advocacy for the consumer at home and for Israel during a 20-year career in the House of Representatives, died of cancer yesterday at Georgetown University Hospital.

Mr. ROSENTHAL was elected to the House in a special election on February 20, 1962. He was a member of the Government Operations and Foreign Relations committees and these gave him forums from which to pursue his principal interests. He did so not only with diligence, but with a dramatic flair that drew national attention to the issues he raised and to himself as their champion.

"One Congressman with a fair amount of chutzpah can awaken the public conscience," he once said.

His own chutzpah led him to hold hearings in which it was disclosed that the entire \$10 deposit of a child in a bank had been eaten up by service charges and in which the grocery bill of a black resident of an inner city was shown to be higher than that of a housewife buying similar items in a supermarket in a prosperous suburb. He sought legislation protecting condominium buyers and in other ways took up the cudgels for the little man.

In 1981, he bearded Budget Director David Stockman in connection with efforts of the Reagan administration to cut back the powers of the Federal Trade Commission. Plans to accomplish this through the budget were "a rather nefarious shortcut" around Congress, Mr. ROSENTHAL said.

In foreign affairs, he was an outspoken supporter of Israel, always seeking more aid for that country on more generous terms. By the same token, he opposed administration efforts over the years to improve relations with Arab governments.

In 1979, he was against plans by President Carter to sell tanks and planes to Arab nations. In 1981, he tried to persuade his colleagues to block Reagan's sale of AWACS early warning planes to Saudi Arabia.

In the era of Vietnam, he was a militant critic of the war. In a speech to the House in 1969 he asserted that the United States had become "virtually the puppet" of the Saigon government. His stand on the war drew the wrath of President Johnson.

Mr. ROSENTHAL lost his longest battle in Congress. This was a 14-year campaign to establish a Federal agency that would represent consumers and their interests in courts.

On one occasion the measure passed both the House and the Senate, but the leadership refused to send it to the White House on the grounds that President Ford would veto it—and those favoring the bill lacked the votes to overcome a veto. The issue died in 1977 when House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill (D-Mass.) declared that he would not permit a new measure to come up for action.

When Mr. ROSENTHAL found himself thwarted, he was capable of launching drives for the removal of committee chairmen who stood in his way. Thus he tried to unseat Representative Clement J. Zablocki (D-Wis.) as chairman of the House Foreign Relations Committee and he tried to do the same with Chet Holifield (D-Calif.), a former chairman of the Government Operations Committee. He fell out with Holifield when the Californian killed a consumer investigating panel of which Mr. ROSENTHAL was chairman. In 1975, when Representative Jack Brooks (D-Tex.) became chairman of Government Operations, the panel was reconstituted.

These and similar activities earned for Mr. ROSENTHAL the condemnation of some of his colleagues. With a wit and a gift for not taking himself too seriously, he readily admitted that he could indeed be difficult.

"I do think there are some people who think I'm abrasive," he said. "In some ways, I think I'm abrasive. You can't change your personality."

At Mr. ROSENTHAL's death, Chairman Brooks said: "He contributed immeasurably to the work of our committee, especially as chairman of the Commerce, Consumer, and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee. He had a deep and abiding concern for protecting the poor and the powerless." Consumer Ralph Nader said: "He displayed unmatched leadership in his consistent support of consumer justice over the past 20 years."

BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL was born in New York City on June 8, 1923. He attended Long Island University and the City College of New York. He served in the Army in World War II and later earned law degrees at Brooklyn Law School and New York University. He practiced law in New York and became active in the Democratic Party in the Queens. He went to Congress in 1962 following the resignation of Lester Holtzman, who was appointed to a State court judgeship.

One of his first assignments on Capitol Hill was to the Agriculture Committee. This produced some jokes about flowerpots and garden plots in the Queens. But Mr. ROSENTHAL turned the assignment to his own advantage—and so launched his career—when he was named to a food marketing commission. Through this he became interested in the impact that Government policies have on consumers.

Mr. ROSENTHAL's survivors include his wife, the former Lila Moskowitz; two children, Edward Rosenthal and Debra Rosenthal Mandel; his mother, Ceil Rosenthal, and a sister, Lola Ostreicher.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to submit the personal thoughts of Judge Abner J. Mikva on the passing of his very

dear friend, BEN ROSENTHAL. Had Ab been a Member of the House, his remarks would have been included in the special order given Tuesday, February 15, 1983. Since he is no longer a Member, he has asked me to submit this tribute to BEN on his behalf.

GENTLE BEN

Writing about BEN ROSENTHAL in eulogy is almost as hard as complimenting him to his face. He always held himself out to be a tough, feisty, New York Congressman from the New York political world where nice guys finished last. He suffered praise and compliments poorly.

BEN ROSENTHAL never quite carried off that posture. There was too much passion and compassion in BEN to be able to make people believe that he really was the worldly cynical Congressman from New York. That he cared about people was obvious for all to see—not just people as in humanity, but people as individuals. He could remember a friend's birthday, albeit by teasing him about getting old. He could reach out to an employee or an individual constituent and bespeak their personal problems as vigorously as he bespoke the Eighth District of the sovereign State of New York.

He could complain with the best of veterans about how poorly Congress performed, and yet take fierce pride in the institution and its traditions. I remember a stormy night many years ago when he and Congressman Jacobs were the prime movers in keeping the House in session through the night on Special Orders. Their purpose was to provide a forum for the antiwar views of many Members who were stifled in their efforts to address the issue through regular House channels. The session was stormy because supporters of the war had denigrated the effort beforehand, and sought to torpedo it through quorum calls while it was going on. The effort persisted and succeeded nevertheless. When it was BEN ROSENTHAL's turn to speak that night, he went to the well of the House and said with enthusiasm and emotion, "I am very proud of this House tonight." His colleagues had every reason to be proud of him that night as on many other occasions.

Like almost all politicians, BEN ROSENTHAL wanted to be loved. The needles and barbs of those who disagreed penetrated his hide just as deeply as the hide of any freshman Member. The brusque rejoinder or sharp letter that he wrote in response to such criticism was just a facade. He was as sensitive as everybody else. But that sensitivity never stopped him from taking on the next fight no matter how unpopular, no matter how many political problems that the fight would create. It could not have been otherwise. BEN ROSENTHAL's notion of a Congressman was to lead, to be straight rather than beloved, to solve people's problems rather than avoid controversies. And so, he was almost always at the point position—on the war in Vietnam, on civil liberties, on consumer affairs, on every issue where he saw social justice at stake.

There were many complicated pieces to this man. He could turn a tennis game into a world war with strategies and propoganda to match. He could take on the power structure and lecture them for their arrogance and counsel an ally to be more politic and accommodating. He could be a faithful friend

and a gracious colleague without yielding an inch of his commitment to what he thought was right. He lived his whole life with a vigor and a verve that made him known and renowned throughout the country.

There will never be enough BEN ROSENTHALS in the public arena and such a death will always be untimely. That we should lose him at so young an age is especially tragic. But he did more in his almost three-score years than most people could even dream about. The tragedy of losing him is overwhelmed by our great fortune in having him as friend and colleague and gentle man that he was.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join in this tribute to our late colleague, Congressman BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL. My pride is in knowing that this Member served over 20 years in this House with distinction, dedication, and strength. My sadness, however, is in knowing that his passing denies us the opportunity to benefit from his continued works both in and outside the Halls of Congress.

Representative ROSENTHAL served for many years as a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in the seventies, as chair of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. Congressman ROSENTHAL also served on the Human Rights and International Organizations Subcommittee.

During his tenure here in the House, BEN ROSENTHAL also served on the Government Operations Committee and on its Manpower and Housing Subcommittee. The Congressman was also one of the most dedicated members of the Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer, and Monetary Affairs.

Mr. Speaker, during his last days, Representative ROSENTHAL put aside the prevailing status of his health and stood in this very Chamber day after day on behalf of his constituents. No one can dispute his dedication and willingness to exert unprecedented effort to address critical matters which impact this Nation.

BEN ROSENTHAL will be sorely missed. However, there is comfort in knowing that we have all benefited from having served with him and been a part of his illustrious career.

Mr. ROE. Mr. Speaker, it is with a profound sense of sorrow that I rise today to pay tribute to the memory of my longstanding good friend and late colleague, BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL who for more than two decades represented the people of the Eighth Congressional District of New York.

During that time, he set a standard for excellence in office that will be impossible to match.

BEN ROSENTHAL was a man totally dedicated to the needs of both his constituents and the Nation as a whole. In his role as chairman of the House Government Operations, Commerce, Consumer, and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee, BEN ROSENTHAL clearly established himself as our country's recognized national champion in the battle to protect the rights of the consumer.

BEN fought hard for the establishment of an independent Federal consumer protection agency. And even though that agency was never created, the hearings he conducted in his subcommittee clearly educated us all and focused the need for this body to protect the rights of all consumers.

BEN ROSENTHAL was the voice for millions of Americans, especially the aged, the minorities, and the disadvantaged who often had no one to speak out in their behalf. His efforts in Congress during the 1960's and 1970's helped move our Nation toward greater equal justice for all of our citizens.

As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee BEN led the effort to reassert the congressional role in formulating our foreign policy. Key to his interests on that committee was his uncompromising support for the State of Israel.

BEN ROSENTHAL was not a man interested in the glamour of the public spotlight. He simply believed in fighting hard for the things he cared about.

This brave, kind man, who did not let the ravages of cancer deter him from chosen work over the past 2 years, will always be remembered by those of us who were fortunate enough to have served with him in this body.

I extend my heartfelt sympathy to his wife, Lila, and other members of his fine family and offer them my sincere condolences.

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, BENJAMIN (BEN) ROSENTHAL was my friend and colleague and he was a capable, dedicated Member of Congress who served the House well throughout his 20 years of service. As a member of the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee, BEN was a talented legislator whose leadership was far reaching and widely acclaimed. BEN's passing is a loss to us all.

Both Helen and I extend our condolences to his lovely wife, Lila, and the family.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, it was with a sense of deep sadness and loss that I learned of BEN ROSENTHAL's death on January 4,

1983. BEN served this institution and the constituents of New York's Eighth Congressional District with a distinction and dedication which shall be missed by all.

BEN first came to Washington in 1962. It was then, as co-Members of the New York congressional delegation and the Government Operations Committee, of which I am now ranking minority member, that we became good friends and close working colleagues.

When I reflect upon our 20 years together in this House, I believe that I shall most remember BEN's unswerving support of the consumer and his abiding belief in the need for fairness in the marketplace.

At the beginning of his first term in the House, BEN sought and won a seat on the Agriculture Committee. I will recall a certain amount of bemusement among many Members as they contemplated the prospect of a Congressman from New York City on a committee concerned with agriculture. Here, as always however, he demonstrated the concern and dedication to the plight of the consumer which remained with BEN to the very end.

During his long tenure as chairman of the Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer and Monetary Affairs, I observed the effectiveness of BEN's oversight on two associated levels. On one level he championed the support of the agencies downtown that have specific obligations to both consumers and an honest marketplace. He never wavered in the fight to see that the Federal Trade Commission had the means to fulfill its mission and responsibilities. On a second, but no less important level, his subcommittee continually addressed specific problems and issues, providing a forum for consumers to speak of their concerns, and compiling hearing records which provided essential information and guidance, not only for Federal agencies, but for State and local governments as well. His subcommittee's pioneering investigations of the plight of the small savers who were unable to receive competitive interest rates made a significant contribution to the reform activities now affecting all of our financial institutions. By the same token, his investigation of the condominium conversion phenomenon provided essential guidance to State and local governments in drafting regulations to help assure the availability of decent, affordable housing for all.

I wish to extend my sincerest condolences to BEN's family. BEN ROSENTHAL was a good friend and colleague to many of us who are

here today. His contributions, both to the Congresses in which he served and to the district which he so loyally and skillfully represented, will long be remembered by all.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleagues in the New York delegation, Mr. Stratton and Mr. Addabbo, for making available this time for Members to pay our last respects and to share our thoughts about our departed colleague, Congressman BEN ROSENTHAL, and the many lasting and significant contributions he made to this body and to the American people before his untimely death last month.

I had the privilege of knowing and working with BEN ROSENTHAL for over 10 years. In his capacity as a senior member of our New York congressional delegation and as a distinguished member of our Foreign Affairs Committee, on which I serve, I found BEN's views and leadership of the highest quality. I often sought out his advice, as did many other members, on many matters of both domestic and international import, and always received wise and generous counsel.

BEN possessed a very warm sense of humor, one that never failed to amuse, though at times it hit home quite closely. His wit was a combination of thrust and parry, and it was always a most enlightening experience to engage in debate with him.

But most importantly, Mr. Speaker, was BEN ROSENTHAL's high sense of dedication to human rights and to the protection of the consumer. He never wavered in his feeling that big business and the bureaucracy should be clearly and verifiably receptive to our constituents. BEN's staunch support of Israel was an integral part of his service here in the House. We, on the Foreign Affairs Committee, will miss him sorely.

Mr. Speaker, the New York delegation has sustained a significant loss; it will not be quickly filled by one as dedicated and achieving as BEN ROSENTHAL. My sincerest condolences are extended to his widow, Lila, to the rest of BEN's family and friends, and to all of the people of his congressional district, who mourn his loss. BEN has left a legacy of caring that cannot be readily matched, but a legacy that can certainly be emulated by all of us in the House of Representatives.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues today in expressing regret over the untimely death of our colleague, the gentle-

man from New York, Mr. ROSENTHAL. While we have long been aware of his protracted and valiant struggle against cancer, the deadliest of all diseases presently afflicting mankind, I think it is fair to say that one is never fully prepared for the actuality, when it occurs.

BEN ROSENTHAL was a distinguished and articulate member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and a major influence on this body during his tenure here. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe, he was responsible for a number of important initiatives, including the establishment of a biannual exchange with a delegation of the European Parliament, which met for the 21st time last month. His leadership in the field of consumer protection as chairman of a Government Operations Subcommittee has been widely recognized in the Congress and beyond.

To his wife Lila, his family and the many friends of BEN ROSENTHAL, I extend my most sincere condolences. To my colleagues in this body, I can only add that we have clearly lost someone of importance * * * and of value.

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join my fellow colleagues in honoring a most dedicated man, the late Congressman, BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL.

BEN ROSENTHAL's dedication and concern for his district was reflected in the 11 consecutive elections he won, most without a serious challenge. His persistent drive to serve the Eighth District of New York was reflected in his work until he passed away, the day after he was sworn in as a Member of the 98th Congress.

During his 20 years in Congress, BEN ROSENTHAL was a persistent advocate of consumer protection. He saw a threat to the poor and the elderly and attacked it head on, accomplishing a continuing goal of public awareness.

His drive and conviction made BEN ROSENTHAL an asset to Congress and a valued Member of his party. He was chosen by the majority leader as a deputy whip in the 95th, 96th, and 97th Congresses. BEN ROSENTHAL served with diligence on the Foreign Affairs and Government Operations Committees and gained recognition for the need of consumer protection as chairman of the Commerce, Consumer, and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee.

It is with sorrow I join my colleagues to remember the Honorable BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL, but also with respect and deep appreciation for the dedication and leadership BEN ROSENTHAL showed in his service of Congress.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Mr. Speaker, as a new Member of Congress, I was looking forward to serving with the late BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL. I, unfortunately, will never have that opportunity and consider myself the lesser for it.

Several years ago, I first met BEN ROSENTHAL and was impressed by his keen insight, knowledge, and integrity. During the organizational meetings of the 98th Congress, I again met this distinguished gentleman, and my previous impressions were again confirmed.

BEN ROSENTHAL always will be remembered by his colleagues as a distinguished Member of Congress. His tenure here should serve as a model for new Members, such as myself. He was a dedicated and effective Member who ably served his district and the Nation. This House and this Member will miss him.

Mr. PANETTA. Mr. Speaker, I want to join my colleagues who have paid tribute to the memory of our late colleague, BEN ROSENTHAL of New York.

BEN ROSENTHAL, during his 20 years in the Congress, established an outstanding record of accomplishment and dedication. His work on behalf of consumers, as well as his strong opposition to the Vietnam War, earned him a tremendous amount of respect in this body and in the country. It was truly a privilege to know and work with him.

During his final months of life, Mr. Speaker, BEN ROSENTHAL suffered greatly from his illness. But that did not stop him from continuing the work his constituents had elected him to do. His demonstration of courage in the face of adversity will always serve as an example of greatness to his colleagues.

Mr. Speaker, I know all of my colleagues join me in wishing the family of BEN ROSENTHAL the very best and in letting them know that he had earned the greatest respect and love of his colleagues in the Congress. BEN will be dearly missed in the Congress and throughout the Nation.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, all of us who had the pleasure of working with BEN ROSENTHAL will miss his contribution to the legislative process. As one who worked with BEN for many years on the Government Operations Committee, I feel his loss especially keenly.

BEN joined the Government Operations Committee at the beginning of the 88th Congress in 1963, his first full term in the House. He served with distinction on the full committee to the time of his death.

One of BEN's most valuable contributions to the committee and to the Congress was as chairman of the Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer, and Monetary Affairs for the 94th through 97th Congresses. In this position BEN showed himself to be a vigorous and diligent overseer of a number of vital executive agencies. His work on behalf of consumer issues is well known to all of us. Most importantly, BEN carried out his responsibilities as chairman of this subcommittee with fairness and good humor. Those who came before him knew that they had better do their homework, but they also knew they would be treated fairly and with respect.

Mr. Speaker, BEN ROSENTHAL's death leaves a void in the House that will be difficult to fill. His work and his service will always be an example and a standard for the rest of us to meet.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, today I am being joined by Representatives Addabbo, Ferraro, and Scheuer in introducing legislation which will designate the U.S. Post Office Building in Flushing, N.Y., as the "Benjamin S. Rosenthal Post Office Building." This is a small but lasting thing we are doing for a man whose wisdom, intelligence, and stature loomed above the commonplace.

Prior to my coming to Congress upon the death of BEN ROSENTHAL, many eloquent and fitting statements were made on the House floor. I think it only proper that at the introduction of this bill I share with my colleagues remarks I made to the Jewish Community Relations Council of Queens honoring BEN ROSENTHAL.

The text of the tribute follows:

In this day and age, outside of the world of sports, it is unusual to have people engaged in hero worship. Yet in my district, for 20 years we had the kind of leadership that could only be created in story books.

BEN ROSENTHAL stood head and shoulders above the giants and yet there was no one he looked down upon. With gentle strength, great humility, he tilted with windmills and slew dragons.

He stood with the righteous and fought injustice, both in the district and around the world. He was not afraid to champion causes that were unpopular. At times his thinking appeared out-of-phase with the district, but it seemed that time would always prove him right.

He was my Congressman from the first time that I voted. He was honest and compassionate. He was a hard hitting intellectual with great integrity, who gave politics a good name. He inspired countless young people to go into the business. He set the standards.

He taught us how to think,

He taught us how to work,

He taught us how to fight,

He taught us how to live,

And in the end, he even taught us how to die.

Of course, BEN will be missed by his constituents in the community and his colleagues in the Congress, but he will be sorely missed by his council, as he was your special friend and so eloquently and effectively fought for our mutual concerns. I hope someday to be able to emulate him.

While I am proud and honored to have been chosen by the voters in the district, I must confess that it's rather intimidating to follow BEN ROSENTHAL.

While I have been elected to fill the vacancy, it will take all of us collectively to fill the void.



Proceedings in the Senate

TUESDAY, *January 25, 1983.*

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, today I wish to speak, all too briefly, in memory of my good friend and distinguished colleague from New York, the late Congressman BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL.

It was a moment of profound sorrow when I learned of BEN ROSENTHAL's death. No one fortunate enough to know BEN could have failed to be warmed by his personal charm and impressed by his formidable intellect. As a man and as a legislator, he was many things. He was never other than an individual of great courage and deep compassion for others. A friend of the consumer and the poor. A champion of human rights and civil rights. A vigorous defender of just causes here and abroad.

Few among us can even hope to enlarge the concept of public service. BEN ROSENTHAL could and did. He leaves the Congress enhanced by the integrity and conviction he brought to it. When BEN felt that something was wrong, he was not afraid to say so. Witness, for instance, his singular stand against the Vietnam war in 1965, a time when most of his constituents—and most of his colleagues—felt otherwise. Have we all not benefited from the high personal standards BEN ROSENTHAL set for himself?

So too from the extraordinary diligence with which he looked after American interests abroad, as the senior member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. He was one of few who had the foresight to investigate the extent of foreign investment in our country and to assess the implications for foreign policy and national security. In this, he has not only alerted us to the issue, but also laid important groundwork for the formulation of a national policy in this area.

In all, BEN ROSENTHAL was a friend to all New York and indeed the Nation. The country should know that it has lost a strong and principled man.

Mr. President, several weeks ago I had the solemn responsibility of attending the memorial services for this great man. At that time, BEN ROSENTHAL was eulogized by Rabbi I. Usher Kirshblum in terms so eloquent and fitting that I should very much like to share them with my colleagues. I ask that Rabbi Kirshblum's remarks be printed in the Record.

The remarks follow:

EULOGY FOR CONGRESSMAN BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

(By Rabbi I. Usher Kirshblum)

(January 6, 1983)

"A prince and a great man fell" and is departing from us unto eternity. Congressman BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL, tall as he was from his neck down was even taller from his neck up. The mourners are by no means limited to the immediate members of his family. The citizens of the Borough of Queens, the City and State of New York, the Nation, Israel, and the entire free world, have sustained an irreparable loss.

As I stand before you I can see BEN smiling at me quizzically and asking, "What am I doing in the Synagogue? This honor should be reserved for religious Jews." If religion is to be judged merely on the basis of one's observance then my beloved BEN would be absolutely right. But observance is just a holy means to an even holier end—the road which leads to the highest principles for which Judaism stands. By that standard I say, without any hesitation or mental reservation, Congressman BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL was a deeply religious man for he had built his entire life upon the highest principles of ethics, justice, and morality.

It was in 1962 when I first met BEN at his office in Woodside. He was about to immerse himself in his first Congressional campaign. One issue plagued him. He knew that a large segment of his Congressional District was for that which he opposed. He sought guidance and advice. Who would have blamed him if he had compromised a little or hedged somewhat? But not BEN! He always followed the dictates of his conscience. He was prepared to lose the election but not his principles. He was elected by the narrowest of margins—just a few hundred votes. Think of what a loss it would have been for our country if this brilliant man were defeated because of his principles!

Throughout his career BEN never tried to guess what the people would want him to say or do but he felt that it was his duty not just to listen to his constituents but also to teach them right from wrong.

BEN was a champion of human rights. He was absolutely color blind, never able to distinguish between Jew and Christian, between Black and White. To him all were God's children created in His image. He looked afar, had great visions of a better and more peaceful world. But at the same time, he never had lost sight of the little man in front of him who needed his help. He was most sensitive to the problems of the poor, the sick, and

the ill. BEN had a great love for Israel and its people but it was not a blind love. When he differed with some act or statement he did not rush with tongue or pen to criticize but confined his remarks to a very intimate group of friends. He had a deep concern for the Jews behind the Iron Curtain and he left no stone unturned until he rescued a number of them. At all times BEN walked in the footsteps of the Prophet, Micah, doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with his God.

Though completely dedicated to his calling, BEN served as a model for all politicians in his relationship with his family. He never allowed his career to interfere with the role that he loved most—a most caring son to his mother, Ceil, a most loving husband to his wife, Lila, a most devoted father to Debra and Edward, and most affectionate brother to his sister, Lola, and to Brian, who as his son by marriage and physician, was so close to him. His children were never resentful of his career. On the contrary, they were very proud of him because he never deprived them of his companionship. Tired as he was after a number of speaking engagements in New York he always rushed off to make the last shuttle to Washington.

Despite his illness BEN kept working almost to the very end. He did not miss an hour of the recent Lame Duck session. Though in great pain, he never complained but kept pushing and hoping to give more of himself in the coming days to his country and his people. After he was sworn in on Monday, G-d, in His merciful way, decided to grant BEN eternal sleep. Now free from pain, no longer to be tormented by the Angel of Death, he is going home for a complete rest. In a whisper BEN speaks to us,

Let me die working,
Still tackling plans unfinished, tasks undone,
Clean to its end, swift may my race be run.
No lagging steps, no faltering, no shirking,
Let me die working.

Let me die thinking,
Let me fare forth still with an open mind,
Fresh secrets to unfold, new truths to find.
My soul undimmed, alert, no questions blinking,
Let me die thinking.

Let me die laughing,
No sighing o'er past sins; they are forgiven.
Spilled on this earth are all the joys of Heaven.
The wine of life, the cup of mirth still quaffing;
Let me die laughing.

S. HALL YOUNG

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and Mr. D'Amato, I send to the desk a resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 19) to express the profound sorrow of the Senate upon the death of Hon. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, late a Representative from the State of New York.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New York?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I will detain the Senate only a short while in this matter. It is a formal expression by our body of the sorrow that we feel in the loss of a friend and colleague from the other body over so many years.

Mr. D'Amato and I are especially grateful to the leadership of the Senate for allowing us the privilege of introducing the resolution.

Mr. President, the statement that we make today is one of a sense of loss and mourning and of respect. It is with particular thought to Representative ROSENTHAL's widow, Lila, that we take this action. She is in our thoughts at this moment, as she has been throughout the recent period.

It was remarked by the New York Times in a warm editorial, on the occasion of the memorial, about how many Members of the Congress, led by the Speaker himself, flew to Queens on a hard January morning for the final services that attended to the burial of our departed and dear friend. I was one of those and can attest to the sense of loss that was shared by us all.

BEN ROSENTHAL was a friend of a quarter century, a man who left an impression on the body he served so well and left a very powerful memory of public service behind. Most important of all, as that incomparable observer of American politics and those who profess it, David Broder, remarked not long after his death, in a column that no one could have read without remembering, BEN ROSENTHAL leaves behind a memory of the joy of battle. He said how we shall miss McCall of Oregon and ROSENTHAL of New York, two men from different ends of the country, wholly different views on many matters, but sharing in one thing—a joy in the conflict of ideas, in the struggle of interest, in the process of democracy and the freedom which it both guarantees and which it is intended to preserve.

He ended his column with the statement that we shall remember them in their laughter above the clash of battle.

That was very much both men, I am sure. It was very much BEN ROSENTHAL who had the experience of the long and the difficult, and which he knew to be irreversible. He was on the floor of the U.S. Congress not 9 days before he finally came to that which he knew well it would bring him, to death. He knew that word. He recognized it and accepted it.

He was sworn into the 98th Congress at the Georgetown University Hospital just a very short while before his passing. Not 3 days before that, he met his dear friend and another former member of the other body, Bob Drinan, a former member of the House who returned to academic pursuits at Georgetown University, who was faithful to his vows, as was BEN ROSENTHAL as well.

At the gravesite, we were reminiscing, and he spoke of the singular courage of the man in more somber circumstances that somehow permitted him even so a touch of the mocking and a deathless conviction on the values of life.

Mr. President, I am honored, as I say once more, and I would like to express my gratitude to the majority leader and the minority leader for allowing Senator D'Amato and me this privilege of offering this resolution.

Mr. President, before moving that the Senate agree to the resolution, I ask unanimous consent to include in the Record, at this point, David Broder's column on Mr. ROSENTHAL:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 16, 1983]

TWO MATTERS OF QUALITY

(By David S. Broder)

Two columns for the price of one today: the first on a problem that is all too prevalent, the second on two politicians embodying a quality that is all too rare.

The too common problems is hardship in this time of economic recession. We all know it surrounds us, afflicts our communities and our fellow citizens. But how many of us and how severely?

The answer to those questions is not a matter of pedantry but an essential prerequisite for framing intelligent national policy to target scarce dollars for maximum results.

Juanita Kreps, Secretary of Commerce in the Carter administration, and seven other distinguished economists have come out with a report showing that the methods the Federal Government now uses to measure economic hardship are "seriously deficient" for the job.

Those measures—principally the unemployment and poverty statistics—can seriously distort and disguise the scope and nature of the problem, exaggerating it at times and obscuring it at others.

For example, Kreps and her colleagues calculate that, in 1979, "more than half of those who were unemployed at some time * * * lived in households with total annual incomes in excess of \$15,000." On the other hand, in 1981, "more than 5 million workers, who were never officially unemployed, lived in poverty."

Since the need to alleviate poverty is immediate, while the programs to reduce unemployment may well have to be long-term in scope, it is imperative to be able to measure these problems as precisely as possible—and to distinguish them from each other.

The statistics now available, according to Kreps and her colleagues, suggest that low wages and limited hours of employment caused more hardship, at least in 1979, than did unemployment.

But the need, they point out, is for data that is more current and geographically precise. "Basic hardship counts can now be calculated for the Nation, for multistate regions, and for the 10 most populous States," they point out, but not for the other 40 States and not for local labor markets.

The money it would take to improve and refine that data would be money well spent.

As for the quality that is too rare in politics, the one I'm thinking about is the combination of gentleness in personal dealings and absolute fearlessness in policy battles. The national supply of that quality was severely diminished by the deaths, just a few days apart, of Representative BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL (D-N.Y.) and former Oregon Governor Tom McCall (R), both victims of cancer.

Both of them were fierce fighters for the causes they believed in: Consumerism in ROSENTHAL's case, environmentalism in McCall's. Both were instinctive civil libertarians, sensitive to any hint of bigotry or bullying. Their views of the outer world could not have been more opposite. McCall was a hawk from beginning to end of the Vietnam War, while ROSENTHAL was an early and passionate critic of the war.

What really made them stand out was their readiness to put aside any thought of political prudence and tackle the tough guys of their own parties when those antagonists were at the height of their power. ROSENTHAL did it with Lyndon Johnson, McCall with Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew.

But off the stump, these were two of the gentlest gentlemen in politics. They had no pomp in their makeup. Both of them could walk away from a fight and come up laughing. They invited teasing, and could outdo anyone in parodying the way they sounded when they were in full flight of rhetorical battle.

They were, in their individual and inventive ways, obstreperous, but deliberately so, calculatingly, cunningly so. They devoted serious thought to devising the best techniques for needling their opponents or upsetting a gathering consensus. And because they loved that arena of political combat so well, they accomplished much more—and left more people mourning them—than those who are more decorous and detached.

Neither BEN ROSENTHAL, nor Tom McCall ever forgot that the battling they so enjoyed depends, ultimately, on tolerance of dissent. More than most people in politics, they showed how to love their adversaries, for without their

adversaries, there would be no one to sustain the quarrels they so dearly loved.

The sound of their voices raised in battle will be missed. And so will their laughter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to, as follows:

SENATE RESOLUTION 19

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of the Honorable BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, late a Representative from the State of New York.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That when the Senate recesses today, it recess as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. I thank the Chair.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished junior Senator from New York for bringing this matter to the attention of the Senate at this time and for addressing these very appropriate sentiments.



APPENDIX

Memorial Tribute
TO
Benjamin S. Rosenthal
AND
Phillip Burton
Monday, June 27, 1983
STATUARY HALL
THE CAPITOL

MEMORIAL TRIBUTE TO BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL AND PHILLIP BURTON

MONDAY, JUNE 27, 1983

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C.

The tribute commenced at 6 p.m., at Statuary Hall, the Capitol, Hon. Robert W. Kastenmeier, presiding.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. I am Bob Kastenmeier, and on behalf of the sponsors of this Memorial Tribute to Ben Rosenthal and Phil Burton, I would like to thank you all for coming.

There have been many things said and written in the past months about Ben and Phil, brilliant and touching eulogies, analyses and recounts of their past public contributions. It is not our purpose tonight to restate all that, but rather to provide an opportunity for old friends, admirers, to freely come together and to briefly remember these two marvelous people.

Ben and Phil, we are convinced, would have wanted it that way; even, for example, rather than have the National Symphony provide the music, they would have preferred Dave Obey and Holum and Scott Lilly and Severson.

Dave Obey is the one over there from Wisconsin who is almost ensconced in Senator Robert La Follette's arms. But Ben and Phil would have preferred this music reminiscent of their own times.

I have a formal request to make to my friends on the dais and those who will speak later, and that is, in fact, to comply with the spirit of the one-minute rule of the House. I say that knowing it is a difficult, yet necessary request to make of bright and caring people who could say a great deal more, I am sure.

At this moment, what I would like to do is to introduce a few people. First of all, I would like to introduce Lila Rosenthal.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. And I would like to introduce also, not only Edward and Debbie Rosenthal, but all the family and friends who came from New York, the relatives, especially, for this occasion. Would you all stand, please?

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Next I would like to introduce a person who will be well known in these Chambers, if not already. She is a person I am sure that Phil would have been very proud of. She has achieved a remarkable victory last week and on tomorrow many of us will honor her at the swearing

in ceremony in the House Chambers. I would like to introduce Member-elect, Sala Burton.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Also, of course, Phil's two brothers; one we know so well, our friend, John Burton, who served with us so nobly in years past, and brother, Robert, as well. John, Robert?

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. On behalf of the sponsors, I want to make an additional acknowledgment, even at the risk of detracting from the proceeding, but that is to state that some of us—Ab Mikva, others who thought of this occasion some time ago—are especially indebted to the one person who put it together. Without his driving force, his organizing ability, we would not be meeting here tonight. I would like to acknowledge that fact to Don Edwards. Don, we are very grateful.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Well, I would like to share just a couple of remembrances myself, if I may. Both Ben and Phil were among the closest friends I will have ever had on this Earth. I knew them in the entire span of their service, both about 20 years. I remember them when they came; I knew of them before they got here.

I remember when Ben was elected to replace Lester Holtzman, we knew he was coming down. We knew that Phil from some of the old line Democrats the enfant terrible of San Francisco was coming, and he did come indeed.

In Phil's case, we were early close personal friends, our families were. I remember one event that happened very early before he really got to know the rest of my family. Dorothy and our son, Bill, in 1964, not yet 5 years old, was accompanying his mother to the Visitor's Gallery above the floor of the House when Phil Burton came along and kissed Dorothy on the cheek, greeted her, whereupon little Bill looked up at him and said, "Hey, what's the big idea?"

Which—well, actually Bill got to know Phil a lot better since that time, but for a lot of other people who in the intervening years have raised the question of Phil Burton, "Hey, what's the big idea?" Some of them were among the mine operators, the timber chieftains, and even some of our colleagues, Republican members from California have often asked Phil, "Hey, what's the big idea?" But Phil prevailed.

Obviously my memories of Phil go way back to that period that we have between work and dinner at night when, patient wives permitting, we often would get together many, many evenings.

But in terms of Ben Rosenthal, Ben and I had similar situations. Here, small families, and decided to settle in the Washington area. We often were able to vacation together at the Breakers, Boca Raton. He came to Madison to participate on a crucial and very early hearing on Vietnam in 1965. I have always appreciated that.

One of the more memorable things happened late, after, in fact, Ben became ill. It was an event I recall because he often delighted in it. We were to attend the wedding of two of our dearest friends, Don and Edie, at Martha's Vineyard. It was a lovely weekend, the last weekend in the summer, in September 1981.

Actually, Ab and Zoe Mikva, Dorothy and myself had arrived on Friday. Ab and Zoe were put off in one framehouse, and Dorothy and I went down to the home that the Rosenthals and we would share for that beautiful weekend, the Ames house, as a matter of fact.

The following morning I picked Ben and Lila up at the airport. As we were going through the Seven Gates Farm, Ben was just delighted, so impressed that we went down the winnowing road, and he said with a sort of boyish grin, "Do you think we are the first Jewish people ever to be invited here?"

I looked at him very seriously and said, "No, Ben, the Mikvas, yesterday." But he often recounted the fact that that was an experience he would have liked to have relived, the beautiful weather, the beautiful event, which he remembered because in his last 2 years, he was very upbeat. He was able to cope with his illness. He regarded it as an aggravation.

In any event, those were a couple of memories I have. They are among many I have of my two friends.

We have another friend I would like to introduce to you, one many of you know who was among us for many years. He comes from the Upper Middle West, from a cool weather area. He is the mayor of Minneapolis, our friend, Don Fraser.

COMMENTS OF HON. DONALD M. FRASER, MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS

Mr. FRASER. Sala, Lila, members of the Burton and Rosenthal family, colleagues and friends, it is cold in Minneapolis. I was stranded at an airport for 2 hours waiting to go to San Francisco for Phil's services, but one of those extraordinary events occurred in Minnesota. We had a blizzard, and that airplane never did take off.

I am delighted to be here today. In a way, it is nice that this occasion occurred some time after the event because the immediate pain, I think, has eased and the grief has abated somewhat, perhaps more for some than for others.

The recollections that I bring are not comprehensive, they are personal. Ben was a fierce scold when we were late for paddleball, but we worked together to begin the first congressional exchange with the European Parliament, and we shared common concerns about U.S. policy toward the Greek Junta as seatmates on the Foreign Affairs Committee. Ben's very deep and personal interest in the subject of human rights was a critical element of support to enable our committee to make progress in writing human rights standards into human rights law.

Phil was outraged when we appointed a nominating committee of the Democratic Study Group for the next chairman. He thought it was stacked. In fact, the committee split down the middle. We had an open election, the first one in the history of the Democratic Study Group, and, of course, Phil won handily.

It was that campaign which showed how effective he could be, a foretaste, I think, of his near victory as majority leader.

Phil was also the critical difference in gaining protection for an area very

dear to our family, the only canoe wilderness in the United States. It needed protection against motorized travel and logging in order to preserve the beauty and solitude for future generations. Phil provided the essential help to bring those protections into law.

Ben and Phil were very different, but they shared a common philosophy that brought "the group," as we called ourselves, a common political philosophy which brought us together. It was a philosophy invigorated by the optimism that most of us shared after World War II, that indeed a better world was within reach; and at its center was the acceptance of a claim for more justice by men and women everywhere, the rightness of the claim to be free of poverty and economic oppression, to be assured of due process under law, and to fully and freely participate in choosing one's own government.

Much as they would growl or grumble about the limitations of the legislative process, they did share an optimism about what government could do for people. They had a deep respect for their constituents even as they entertained us with stories of the foibles and demands of individual citizens. Their optimism was not misplaced.

During their political careers, this planet changed for the better; 100 nations became free and independent, many new international organizations are now quietly and effectively at work, and a new conservation ethic has taken hold across this planet.

Here at home, we have seen major gains in economic and racial justice. The rights of women are being recognized, and in my opinion our freedoms today are more secure than ever before. We do remain with the challenges of the nuclear sword of Damocles as we witness growing nuclear arsenals, and the increasing difficulty of governing as national economies become more interdependent.

But for many of us, the optimism of Ben and Phil and their commitment to a fuller measure of justice point the way. They were two good friends who worked to make this a better world. We miss them terribly.

It was a joy to have known and worked with them: We shall honor them by carrying on the struggle, and I know they would both be delighted that Sala will be in the forefront of that struggle. Because we loved them and shared with them, we will carry on.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Now I would like to present a dear friend of both Ben's and Phil's who serves now with great distinction in the Judicial Branch, having served here in the House for many years. There are those who say he could serve equally well in the Executive Branch, but others say, "No; if recent years are any guide, no one is able to serve with distinction in the Executive Branch."

Notwithstanding even the redress of the courts the other day, in terms of the legislative veto decision, I am pleased to present Ab Mikva.

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF HON. ABNER MIKVA

Judge MIKVA. Thank you, Bob. Lila, Sala, friends all, Phil and Ben were Democrats, they were liberals, they were here for approximately the same

time; and yet they weren't political twins. Ben was lean and thought the center of the universe was New York City, or more specifically, the Queens. Phil was not so lean, and his center of the universe was Washington, D.C., or San Francisco or Guam or Samoa or the Redwood Forests, or wherever he was operating that fabulous political road show that he took out.

Ben's eyes would light up when he would see a member of the media come near because he always assumed that he had an ally in the struggle against the forces of evil. Phil's eyes would narrow when the media approached. At best, he suspected a neutral who didn't care one way or the other and, at worst, he figured it might be a plant from the enemy.

So, as a result, you could always read Ben's ads in the Washington Post and the New York Times and the Christian Science Monitor almost daily. Phil was always described as the powerful, mysterious force of liberalism whose *modus operandi* was shadow and closed door.

But they were more alike than different. Both were "good-doers" who had no patience with "do-gooders" who settled for glorious defeats. Phil and Ben both loved to win. They expected to win. They knew how to win. They knew how to forge coalitions of idealists, of pragmatists, of conservatives and liberals, of amateurs and professionals. They knew how to count and they respected the politics of majorities.

No, they were never comfortable as members of the loyal opposition; they always aspired to win their fight. They suffered defeat badly. And they had no patience with the passionless performance of others who couldn't understand how winning was better.

They understood winning and losing, and they knew the difference between the two. And they didn't appreciate standoffs and ties and "no contests." They were passionate players in the game, the national game of country; and on the liberal side of the aisle, that kind of player is in very short supply.

Thomas Jefferson said that the love of country should come above all minor passions, and he added that the man who loves his country on its own account and not merely for its trappings of influence or power can never be divorced from it. And so we can expect Ben to continue to pace the back rail of the House, cigar in hand, and Phil to continue to prowling the cloakroom and the aisle as if they are still hustling votes for that next great cause; and we, their survivors, their heirs, can only wish that they were still here as patriots in the flesh.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. And now that giant from California, our colleague, George Miller.

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF HON. GEORGE MILLER, A MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM CALIFORNIA

Mr. MILLER. I was delighted to be asked to be part of this tribute this evening, not because we honor our colleagues or because we honor legislators, but because we honor men of passion. Ben Rosenthal and Phil Burton were men of passion. I first met Phil Burton in 1969, although I had heard about him all of my life. He and my father had gone back in politics some time.

He was standing in the grand ballroom of the Fairmont Hotel talking to the operators of the maritime trades and the tugboats and explaining to them what a great man George Miller the third was, and how he would be a great State legislator.

My father had just died, and I was seeking his seat in the Senate. These people were doubting that a 23-year-old law school dropout was a person the Democratic Party should be supporting. He reminded them that when my father supported him, that is what they said about him.

He went around the crowd and said, "You have to help, you have to do it, we are in a special election, the balance of the Senate is at stake." He started grabbing at their wallets. He said, "You have to give me money for this kid, Miller. He is going to be great." He went from person to person in this group. I was standing inside the group, and he turned to me and said, "Now what are you going to do for young Miller?"

[Laughter.]

Mr. MILLER. I said, "Congressman Burton, I am George Miller." He never did give me the money.

[Laughter.]

Mr. MILLER. You know, Phil had a passionate commitment to the truth and maybe that is what caused him, the moment the votes arrived, to abolish the HUAC Committee in the first Congress that I served here. It was the same passion of commitment to the truth that had him call my office late one night and say, "Come down here, kid, come down here." I said, "Phil, I have to go home." He said, "Come down here, kid."

I went down there. He was sitting in the office, shoes off. I said, "What do you want, what do you want?" He was sitting in that large chair shuffling papers. He said, "Nothing, nothing, nothing." I said, "Phil, I have to go home."

A lot of us pleaded this way with Phil from time to time. He said, "Just stay here." Finally, the phone rang, "Hey, Love. Yes, yes, Love. I am just here with the kid going over a few things. I will be there in a minute." He hung up.

I said, "Phil, what do you want?" He said, "I didn't want to tell her again that I was with you and not have you be here."

[Laughter.]

Mr. MILLER. It is only his death that gives me the courage to tell that story to Sala.

We all know of his commitment to the environment, the strip mining legislation, the tripling of the parks, the adding of more acreage than any of us had ever conceived and never stopping that fight. It wasn't just to make America green, it wasn't just to allow a great place for our children to live. He thought those fights on the environment, whether it was clean air or whether, in our State, it was the water fight between the small farmers and the large farmers. It wasn't just justice that motivated him.

After some 10 years of my struggle in the fight on water law for the small farmers, and Phil's fight of 25 or 30 years, and Mo Udall getting it through the committee, he again called me to his office. He was sitting there, drink in hand, shoes off, and said, "That was great, wasn't it?" I see Howard Metzenbaum, in the audience tonight, who made it possible in conference. Phil said, "Don't you just love screwing those bastards?"

[Laughter.]

[Applause.]

Mr. MILLER. And I said, "Yes." He said, "No; I mean really, don't you love it? Don't you love it?"

And the lesson he taught me when I first became chairman of the Labor Committee and moved a bill out of committee. He came roaring at me and wanted to know why. I said, "We had to do it. I don't know." I started getting weak-kneed. He started screaming and pointing at me. He said, "Why are you doing this, why are you doing this?"

I fell back on what I thought would make Phil happy. I said, "Because labor wants me to." He said, "Don't you ever forget, they don't always know what is good for them."

[Laughter.]

Mr. MILLER. What we really have are people of passion. Whether it was Phil waving the club of that legislative instinct knowing this process or whether it was Ben waving that subpoena at both the cameras and victims at the same time and getting them to understand they were going to have to come to the bar of justice.

What we really have are two people who really didn't want liberals wearing their feelings on their sleeves or on the bumpers of their cars. What they wanted to come to Congress were people, as Phil said, whose bodies roared at the injustice of our time and who had a sense of urgency and a sense of outrage.

Maybe it is something for all of us to reflect on, those of us who hold public office and those who are seeking higher office in this country, that sense of outrage and the roaring at the injustice.

Finally, let me say that they were also two human beings. Phil telling me after my first victory on the women's, infants and children's feeding program in 1975 that I earned my year's salary. I thought what compliment, coming in my first year in Congress. Then he turned to me again and said, "Don't you forget, you have to earn it every year;" and Ben who became "Uncle Ben" to me and to Tom Downey and to a whole group of us, after returning from a hectic trip from the refugee camps of Malaysia, Thailand, and Vietnam, in a dark airplane, coming home, started explaining to us, as young Members of Congress, the importance of paddleball and the importance of our friends and the need to cultivate both, assuring us that the longer we stayed here, we would find what an important role they would play in getting us through life crises.

Tonight is a tribute to the fact that both of them were able to do that.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Thank you, George.

Now, I would like to present a national figure, one of the few people who deserves to run for President but is not, who just indeed celebrated one of the nationally significant birthdays only last week or so and who, along with the two people we honor tonight—I don't know what this means to those who believe in signs—shares a June birth date, with both Phil Burton and Ben Rosenthal.

I would like to present Mo Udall.

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF HON. MORRIS K. UDALL, A MEMBER
OF CONGRESS FROM ARIZONA

Mr. UDALL. This is a sad occasion for all of us, but there is a sense of joy and happiness in honoring the lives of these two very great men. I was telling John Burton on the way over here that we both have had the brother problem, over the years, of becoming distinguished from our brothers.

A minister who was new in a small town, where a man had died, opened the service with a hymn and a couple of scripture readings. Then he said, "Now, I, the minister, have only been here about 3 weeks. All the people here in this community have lived with the deceased for all these years. Would one of you get up and tell us a few good things about his life, his achievements?"

There was silence. He said, "I am appalled. I understand for 40 years you have lived in this community. Surely someone can tell us one good word or one good thing about him."

An old man got up, shuffled his feet a little bit and said, "Reverend, he was mean and no good, but I have to say this: His brother was worse."

[Laughter.]

Mr. UDALL. The Burton brother act made a good record here in Washington, and it is a sad situation that we don't have Phil anymore. But we have Sala, and we are glad of that. She is a great American and legislator in her own right. We are expecting very great things from her.

Phil and I had a conversation just a few months ago in which he said "I am undoubtedly the classic candidate for a coronary in the whole Congress." He said he hadn't exercised in 40 years, drank, smoked, had stress and high blood pressure.

I told him about Churchill who being chided for being 50 pounds overweight and never exercising said, "My friend, I get my exercise acting as a pallbearer at the funerals of my athletic friends."

Maybe it doesn't work that way because Ben Rosenthal was about as regular at the gym as anybody in this group. Ben and Phil, two exceptional men. I guess I knew Phil somewhat better. Service on the committees in the House is where you get to know the Members well. Phil and I served on the Interior Committee under the dominance of Wayne Aspinall who worshipped the regular order, which some of us thought to excess.

Phil's approach was more like old Senator Hayden from Arizona who said, "Why take the time making speeches when you got the votes?" Or he said, "No one ever got beat by a speech he didn't make," and that was similar to Phil Burton's approach, although he could be tremendously powerful as an orator when he wanted to several times a year.

A few weeks before Phil died, I was telling some colleagues who were gathered behind the rail to get the straight information, about Phil's latest creative shortcut to legislation. It is like the loaves and fishes. He took a one-line bill and turned it into 35 pages of technical and conforming amendments that established seven national parks, and Lord only knows how many game refuges and all of the rest.

As I was telling this to a colleague, Phil walked up and listened a minute. He said, "Seriously, Mo, just judge me by my results." And I think by that test or any other, he rated very high.

I like what George Miller said. "I judge a man or woman in politics by what they care for, what they are willing to run risks for, what they are willing to take criticism for," and by that test, George Miller has said so well, "these men rate very high."

Phil was sometimes compared to President Lyndon Johnson who once demanded that his aides work over a draft of a speech. He said, "I want you to rewrite this and put stuff in there that makes me sound damned humble." Well, the hallmark of Lyndon Johnson and the hallmark of Phil Burton were much the same.

I think many of the people in this room might wonder what the country would have been like if Phil had had one more vote in that majority leader's race. But the hallmark of Lyndon Johnson and Phil Burton was that they sought power and did it avidly, but they sought it to do good and not for selfish reasons.

Phil could sense what a key difference in a conference committee was and would come roaring in with that awesome presence to find where the bill was hung up and find a way around it. I used to watch in awe and admiration as he put together some new "outrage," that was a strange coalition that would give food stamps to people in San Francisco and New York and price supports for midwestern farmers.

Ben Rosenthal came to Congress the same time as I. We were coming out of the fifties, being involved in Vietnam, the environmental crisis that was upon us, and the whole revolution in civil rights. His style was much different from that of Phil Burton. And yet, in a way, there was a common denominator; and it was effectiveness and results.

Ben wanted a consumer protection agency and should have had it by any standard of fairness. He was good for the country, and it was needed. But having lost that battle, he went back to work and in a real sense he won protection for the little people in our society. We never got a consumer protection agency, but Ben was there to go after the sharp piece in our society who overcharged senior citizens for drugs and rent and ripped off by all kinds of people in this society.

He was a strong force for justice and fairness and for the protection of Israel in the critical Middle East. Ben could be abrasive, but he could also be gentle. He had that rare combination, gentleness in personal dealings and absolute fearlessness in public policy battles. You never wondered where this upfront legislator stood. He was always there.

There are 435 of us in the House. We labor in obscurity most of the time. I suppose most of the House Members at one time or the other lust for the bright lights that the television cameras have on the other body down at the other end of the building. On some occasion they go home and run for Governor, but most of them who run those risks frequently lose.

But we draw the same pay, and we have the same jurisdictions. The House has to pass a bill, as well as the Senate, to make a law. In a way, over the years, the House has become what Sam Rayburn called the forge of democracy. This is where the work is done, the extensive committee hearings, the ripening of the legislation for final action. In a conference committee you nearly always

see people like Ben Rosenthal and Phil Burton who have the expertise of getting the job done. Just a few people, my House colleagues in my time, have resisted the lure of the Senate or the governorship.

The minute you are in the House, mastering this institution, you realize this is a difficult job. I think of people like Dick Bolling, John Rhodes of Arizona, and Tip O'Neill. I call them men of the House. Ben and Phil, two individuals so different in style, both earned that title. Their impact on public policy and on this institution will be felt for a long time to come.

So, today, to the two men of America, two men of the House, we say good-bye from this institution they served so well. Ben and Phil, will miss you, but to paraphrase a line from Speaker Willie Brown of California, if heaven needs a consumer protection agency or needs redistricting, these guys are already on the job.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Thank you, Mo.

Brother Obey, if the Capitol Offenses are ready, we will hear another tune.

Mr. OBEY. We have one song we think both Ben and Phil would have liked, and we know that you know. We would like you to sing along.

[A musical selection was played by the Capitol Offenses.]

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Thank you.

That was a stirring rendition.

Our next segment will be made up of you in the audience. A number of individuals have expressed an interest in speaking briefly, and I would like to call on, if he is present—hopefully he is—Senator Ted Kennedy.

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF HON. EDWARD M. KENNEDY, A SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS

Senator KENNEDY. Thank you very much.

Members of the Burton and Rosenthal families: Ben and Phil were very different men, but very much alike in their tireless pursuit of the causes of decency in our land, the causes of social justice, and a peaceful world. Phil was an expert legislator of enormous depth and compassion and decency, a person who never hesitated to tell you when he thought you were wrong; and if he thought you weren't listening, he never hesitated to raise his voice to make a point.

Ben was a good friend to my brother, Bob, and a valued friend of mine. I think all of those who served with them realize that there were not two stronger fighters in our generation in the Congress of the United States.

Their marks in history are recognized by their colleagues, and this Nation is a better land because of their lives and because of their commitments and their dedication.

I grew up in a family that believed and was taught that individuals can make a difference, and each of us should try; and I am sure there are many times when we ask ourselves, "What kind of a difference do we really make?" But I can't think of two Members of Congress that have really made a greater

difference for the people in our country, for the causes of social justice, and for peace throughout the world.

Thank you.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Thank you, Ted.

Next we have two people actually, one who has been mentioned several times already, Don Edwards and Doris Lumpkins. They are going to do something, I gather, together, which is especially meaningful.

COMMENTS OF HON. DON EDWARDS, A MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM CALIFORNIA, ACCOMPANIED BY DORIS B. LUMPKINS

Mr. EDWARDS. Thank you, Bob. Doris Lumpkins is at the other mike. She is my assistant and she arranged the paddleball and tennis games. Doris, tell us what would Ben Rosenthal's first words be on the telephone?

Ms. LUMPKINS. Mr. Rosenthal never pronounced my name right. He always called me "Daaris." He would say, "I am going out of my mind in this crazy place. I need a paddleball game."

One day I asked Mr. Rosenthal, "Do you gamble at paddleball?" He said, "Daaris, when either Bill Lehman or Don Edwards is my partner, it is not gambling, we lose."

Mr. EDWARDS. I see Mayor Don Fraser of Minneapolis is here. Tell us about him and Mr. Rosenthal.

Ms. LUMPKINS. Mr. Rosenthal really liked to play with Don Fraser. He said Fraser was always on time, not like Mr. Kastenmeier.

One morning I told Mr. Rosenthal that Mr. Fraser couldn't play because he was meeting with the National Democratic Reform Commission. Mr. Rosenthal said, "Daaris, call him again. One more Fraser-McGovern reform and there will be no tennis players at the next convention."

Mr. EDWARDS. Doris, what did Ben Rosenthal say when you told him Judge Mikva couldn't play because the court was in session?

Ms. LUMPKINS. Mr. Rosenthal would say, "Daaris, phone him anyway. All he will do is get reversed by the Supreme Court."

Mr. EDWARDS. Now, Doris, this is all very poignant. Where did Bob Kastenmeier fit in?

Ms. LUMPKINS. Mr. Kastenmeier is and was always a key member of the athletic group. One day when Mr. Kastenmeier said he couldn't play because he was meeting with the Institute for Policy Studies, Mr. Rosenthal said, "Daaris, call him again. All they are doing is planning for Obey and Kastenmeier to meet with Arafat next week."

Mr. EDWARDS. Thank you, Doris.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Obey joins me in saying I should hope not.

Next I would like to call on a distinguished member of the Greek community, Mr. Elias Demetracopoulos.

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF ELIAS P. DEMETRACOPOULOS

Mr. DEMETRACOPOULOS. When fate brought me together with Ben Rosenthal in 1971, it was not the best of times for either of us. My country, Greece, was in the fifth year of a military dictatorship. Two American Governments had shown their indifference to this betrayal of a NATO democracy.

Ben Rosenthal was neither knowledgeable about Greece nor especially interested in it. But when he became chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe, one of the first calls he received was from Don Edwards, who did know the Greek problem, and who pressed Ben Rosenthal to do something. Ben was deeply involved with opposition to the Vietnam war and with his consumer legislation. He did not need another issue but Don Edwards was a friend with a just cause.

That friendship did not, by itself, restore Greek Democracy but it brought Ben Rosenthal into the fight.

Over the opposition of the State and Defense Departments, against the wishes of his Greek-American constituents, and despite the indifference and sometimes hostility of colleagues, Ben became the American conscience for Greece in the Congress. His subcommittee held hearings for 4 consecutive years. If the dictatorship had lasted another year, Ben Rosenthal would have persisted also another year.

He exposed the hypocrite, goaded the complacent, and challenged the conventional and the convenient.

He was a man who did not give up a just fight, no matter what the opposition, no matter who asked him. History proved him right on Greece. He has no replacement.

Thank you.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Our friend, Evelyn Dubrow.

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF EVELYN DUBROW

Ms. DUBROW. Sala, Lila, family, I first met Phil Burton when some friends were giving me a birthday party, and Phil's first day in Congress. He came with Torby McDonald, an unlikely pair of people. At this party, Andy Biemiller and I were standing together. Phil came over. He let us know that he didn't intend to be a docile freshman Congressman. He was going to do this, that, and the other thing.

We looked at each other and mentally both said, "Oy vez, look at that freshman Member of the House." We didn't think they were allowed to talk until they made their maiden speeches. I didn't know why it was called that, but that was it.

You know the funny thing about it, everything Phil said he was going to do that freshman year, he did. I think he did it because people understood that he was motivated with the spirit that really cared, and even when John McCormack got mad at him or Carl Albert got mad at him, they never indicated that they didn't think he was a sincere and honest and decent person.

Phil couldn't bluff. I used to play poker with him. He just couldn't bluff.

His face would tell you that he was trying to pull something, and he never got away with it. I can tell you that even now when I stand outside the door, I miss Phil coming through those doors and saying, "Listen, you got to do this," to all of us in the labor corps, and as I think someone said, Phil didn't hesitate to tell us when he thought those of us who represented labor were wrong. Many times he was right and we were wrong, but sometimes the shoe was on the other foot.

But I can only say this about Phil in the short time I have: First of all I am so glad Sala is going to be in Congress.

[Applause.]

Ms. DUBROW. I never knew Phil Burton when he didn't respect her opinion and ask for her advice. To me, that was a true, democratic person who understood that there was no gender gap in his family.

Ben Rosenthal was a different type of person, but just as determined, just as sure that he was right when he was making the fight. I can remember going to committee meetings when the committee chairman would try to shut him up, and he couldn't. When Ben Rosenthal thought he had a point, he could shout louder than the committee chairman.

The other thing I think I would like to remember about Ben Rosenthal is he was such a warm human being. A lot of people didn't get to know him perhaps as well as those of us who came from the New York area and knew him well; but never did he hesitate to let you talk with him. He understood. He might say "You are all wet," but he permitted you to make your point.

I can tell you this about both of these men that Congress is the richer because they were both there. Congress is the poorer because they are not there now. But I think that if either one of them were here to tell us, they would say, "Go ahead, give them hell, do your job, and stick up for what you believe in because we think that the Congress of the United States is still the most important body in this country."

Thank you.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Now a distinguished writer, Milton Viorst.

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF MILTON VIORST

Mr. VIORST. Ben Rosenthal and I came to the heady world of political Washington at about the same time, he as a freshman Congressman, I as a newspaperman. We had pretty much the same background and the same ideals, and maybe even the same insecurities, and we became good friends, not just political friends, which is a special Washington phenomenon, but real friends, so that even when we later disagreed over politics, we still worried about each others' kids and aging parents and health.

My wife Judy and I loved Ben, though, God knows he was sometimes a pain, and we grieved, as we watched his physical robustness abandon him. But his spirit did not abandon him nor his zest for life nor his warmth toward his friends, nor his dignity, nor courtesy, nor his determination to make every moment meaningful in the pursuit of the goals that were central to his political life.

Judy and I mourn the Ben who became a major force for good in our country, but we also miss feeding him coffee ice cream. We miss the boat Ben had one year at Rehoboth which we named the "Gefilte fish." We miss the ping pong games in the basement.

Judy called Ben a "professional diamond in the rough." For more than 20 years he was a gem in our lives.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Now I would like to call on Kenny Young. Is he here? Kenny might well have been playing with the group. He sometimes does.

COMMENTS OF KENNETH YOUNG

Mr. YOUNG. Phil and Ben came from opposite ends of the country, but their interests were the same: advancing and protecting the welfare of workers, consumers, minorities, the jobless, the poor, and the environment. We in the labor movement knew them as our friends and allies in the struggle to secure a more responsive Government, but lobbying Phil and Ben was never easy.

The lobbyist usually was lobbied, certainly was lectured, and in Phil's case, the hours were often hazardous. In fact, Phil was so "good," that there were many times when he told the Members of the House labor's position before he came out the doors and told those of us waiting outside.

You always knew where Phil and Ben stood on every issue. I can't remember a time when my head count book listed them as undecided. They would say they were always right, and they almost always were. Trade unionists from New York to California are going to miss them. There are too few defenders of the people at the bottom of the economic ladder, too few elected officials who consistently stand up and fight for those people who really have no voice. Their advocacy in terms of a better and fairer society will never leave us.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Now a distinguished journalist, Marty Tolchin.

COMMENTS OF MARTY TOLCHIN

Mr. TOLCHIN. I was sitting at my desk in the newsroom in New York almost precisely 10 years ago when my phone rang, and a voice I knew, but not that well, said, "Hey, kid, I hear you are coming down to Washington; and I said, "Well, Ben, I don't know, we are not planning any trips. He said, "No, no, I hear you are going to be transferred down here." That was the first that I had heard that Sue and the kids and I would be moved down to Washington.

In a sense, it was typical of Ben in a number of ways. First of all, Ben reached out to a lot of people, especially reporters, and he was a giver. He knew what was going on. He didn't mind sharing it with you. As a matter of fact, he revelled in sharing it with you.

And I think that is why reporters, among other people, like Ben Rosenthal so much, not because he was liberal, as most of us were, and not because a lot of us shared the same birth place, but because he related to us

on a very human basis and he considered it part of his job to tell us what was happening even occasionally against his own interests.

I recall Ben very often when I got a news analysis of a review—a weak piece arrived, and he was one of the people in this room whom I would call, and he was always on target; he was sometimes painfully candid, and I remember asking him about the ABSCAM defendants. I said, “Ben, what in the world do these people have in common,” the House Members who were indicted and eventually convicted in the ABSCAM case? He said, “Well, kid, you never see any of them in the House gym.” He said, “they just don’t play paddleball.”

We got to know Ben and Lila pretty well. We even induced them to come up to visit us on Wellfleet one summer. Of course, we saw them here in Washington.

I also remember one evening when they came to dinner and Ben, who could be irascible and had a pixy sense of humor, looked at my array of liquor and noted that they were all house brands. I didn’t have a bottle of Johnnie Walker or anything else. I had Chevy Chase liquor. He said, “You know, kid, this is just not appropriate to you in your station in life.” At 9 o’clock the next morning, Sue and I were still in bed. The door bell rang. And there was Ben on the door step with a small bottle of Johnnie Walker, and he said, “Lila said I had to bring this over.”

Ben and I talked about our kids. He was extraordinarily proud of Edward and Debbie and had remarkable faith in their judgment. There are many times now, and it happened only yesterday, when I am on deadline, trying to figure something out, and I wish there was Ben Rosenthal I could call up and say, “Hey, Ben, what does it all mean.” And he would tell me.

Thank you.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Is our former colleague, Ed Derwinski, here? I know he is.

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF ED DERWINSKI

Mr. DERWINSKI. Lila and Sala, my friends, it is a pleasure for me to participate in this program, but evidently it is my burden to serve as the token Republican. Given the commendations all of you have painted as to the political tendencies of Ben and Phil, I think it is fair to say they would have appreciated the political ratio between Democrats and Republicans.

Both of them were good personal friends. Ben was always very, very gracious in allowing Republicans to join him in committee views, especially, of course, when we agreed with him 100 percent. All of my California friends told me that Phil was extremely gracious to Republicans except on occasions of drawing congressional boundary lines.

I had the pleasure, as a Member, of junketing with Ben and found him a very, very effective Member in the sense that he was always effective in properly representing our national interests abroad. I recall the bipartisan delegations we were in which met heads of state. It was always Ben who made the effective point of clarifying U.S. foreign policy.

I also traveled with Phil to NATO parliamentary conferences. For the last 2 years, there were pleasant surprises with Mr. Mitterrand in the French Government. Many people have been taking credit for Mr. Mitterrand's attitude toward the United States. They don't know he was motivated by fear of Ben, more so fear of Phil. That accounts for the French adjustment.

But speaking in the nonpartisan sense, may I add one personal observation, that I have never been a subscriber to the theory of reincarnation, but I find it very attractive to think about from time to time. As a Republican, my wish would be that there is such a thing as reincarnation and Phil and Ben return to Congress; I would hope they do so as Republicans.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. For a moment I thought just out of sheer habit that Ed would go to the other side.

I would like to call on a distinguished ambassador, Andrew Jacovides.

COMMENTS OF HON. ANDREW JACOVIDES

Ambassador JACOVIDES. What brings us all together this evening is to do honor to the memory of two great elected officials and dear friends who are no longer with us. Phil Burton and Ben Rosenthal were men of principle and indefatigable fighters for human dignity and justice, for the democratic ideals, and for the true interests of the United States.

In the noblest tradition of this great country, they used the power of their office to protect the rights of the weak and the downtrodden against the strong and the powerful, both at home and abroad.

We, from Cyprus, are especially indebted to them. They took strong issue with tilted policies and wrong actions and did their utmost to restore justice, freedom, and human rights to our suffering people. They were convinced that right is might and that freedom and justice are ideals suited not only for the United States but for all over the world.

Their memory will remain with us alive forever as an inspiration and a guide to all.

Thank you.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. I would like now to call on a distinguished environmentalist, Marion Edey.

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF MARION EDEY

Ms. EDEY. I am sure I could speak for the environmental movement when I say that I loved Phil Burton, both politically and personally. I think that probably there is no other movement which had such totally unambivalent feelings about Phil Burton. He was our hero every step of the way, and I have heard a lot, laughed a lot and enjoyed all the tales of Phil's tough tactics which of course were all done for us.

I think to feel the full brunt of them, maybe you had to be a Member of Congress or on his staff, which I never was. But for me, dealing with Phil Burton was always a delight. If I had to pick three things or four things, I guess I would say that he was completely honest, he was very effective, he

had a marvelous sense of humor, and he kept his promises. If he said he would fight for you, he would win; and if he thought it was a losing battle, he didn't mind telling you so and saving you a lot of time in the bargain.

I don't think anyone has done more to protect the outstanding natural areas of this country. We fought for him in the last election. It is a strange shock after that to suddenly lose him in another way. But it also felt like a privilege to help work for such an outstanding replacement as Sala Burton.

I am also sure that Phil Burton is still very hard at work right now trying to turn heaven into a national park.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. There is no one over the years that has worked more closely professionally with Ben Rosenthal than Peter Barash.

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF PETER BARASH

Mr. BARASH. I was with Ben for about 14 wonderful years both on his personal staff and his subcommittee staff. There have been a number of allusion this evening to his fondness for the gym and paddleball. I remember the only time in all those years that he really got angry with me was very early on in the life of the subcommittee. It was in the days when the Washington Evening Star was in existence.

I remember the late afternoon edition covered a hearing we held that morning, and his picture was on the front page of the Washington Star. I called him up in the gym, and he said to me, "Never call me in the gym." I said, "But, Ben, your picture is on the front page of the paper." He said, "I don't care; never call me in the gym during a game." That was literally the only time he ever got angry at me.

I am going to just take a shot at trying to summarize our professional relationship and personal friendship over 15 years. Ben would have encouraged me to be brief because that was kind of his hallmark. Brevity. I often said that if he had written War and Peace, it would have been about 15 pages.

Ben was really very many wonderful and inspiring things: He was incorruptible, he was honest, he was funny. Ralph Nader once said he should have been a standup comedian, and he was. But he was also the most genuine person, as well as the most genuine politician that I ever met. What you saw was what you got, and he never pretended to be anything other than himself; and working for him was really an extraordinary, exhilarating experience. It must have been very much like what it was to work for a Cecil B. DeMille or Louis B. Mayer, even a Lyndon Johnson.

There is perhaps—there are so many stories about Ben I can tell you, but the one that comes to mind that I think so illustrates his ironic sense of humor and his style of doing business had to do with an investigation that we launched several years ago into charges that the Internal Revenue Service had abused the civil liberties of certain taxpayers, and Ben read in his beloved New York Times, which he read every morning first thing, that the Commissioner of IRS, Donald Alexander, in an interview with the Times had invited congressional scrutiny of the Service.

And he called the subcommittee staff up to his office and got Alexander on the phone—this is precisely what he said. "Commissioner," he said, "this is Ben Rosenthal. I am answering your ad in this morning's New York Times." [Laughter.]

Mr. BARASH. Ben is gone, but his good works, his humor, and his magic live on.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Next I would like to call on another friend of Ben's, Si Kenen, who is here tonight.

COMMENTS OF SI KENEN

Mr. KENEN. I am told we are allowed to speak for 1 minute. It took me 30 seconds to walk down this aisle.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Without objection, we will allow you an extra 30 seconds.

Mr. KENEN. I thank you for the privilege of paying tribute to these two young men. I came to Washington in 1951, to win economic aid for Israel. We soon recognized the urgent need to win the support of the Congress. The pioneers were Paul Douglas, Robert Taft, Manny Celler, and Jack Javits as well as John McCormack and Joe Martin. As the years passed, younger men inherited the task.

Ben Rosenthal and Phil Burton became the two spearheads and whenever we needed help on a bill, I knocked on their doors. Invariably they had acted before I arrived; Ben, assisted by competent aides, like Doug Bloomfield was able to gather all the facts and offer them to his colleagues in the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Government Operations where he persistently questioned and enlightened witnesses.

Phil Burton never needed me for he had a redoubtable aide-salon. It was all taken down and taken care of. Both men had broad interests. Ben was the first to hold hearings on Soviet Jewry, and he was a leader in antiboycott legislation. Phil served on Interior, Education and Labor. They were always ahead of me—whether it was on the Hill or at a convention. Americans who supported Israel mourn the loss of two redoubtable friends. They will be difficult to replace.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. I am going to call now on a staff member who served Phil Burton very faithfully, Ed Davis, and we will tell you that he is the last of the scheduled speakers. There may be time for two or three other speakers who may wish to speak from the floor.

I do wish after Mr. Davis you would raise your hand. Then I think we will be in a position to conclude this very night.

Mr. Davis?

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF ED DAVIS

Mr. DAVIS. Phil Burton had something of a reputation as an ogre around here. Every once in a while someone came up to me and asked me how could I possibly work for him? Well, I never wondered. When I came to Washington

10 years ago, he was the first Member of Congress that I met. When I decided to leave DSG after working there a few years, the first Member of Congress I wanted to work for was Phil Burton.

He was a splendidly inspiring person to work for. I think everyone who worked with him over the years treasures many memories of watching him on the telephone, performing yet another political marvel. We were, all of us, painfully cut adrift in April. We lost our leader.

But Phil would be pleased and proud that Sala has taken his place, and we are so glad she is here.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Who would like to be recognized?

Yes? Would you identify yourself, please?

COMMENTS OF NICOLAS A. KARANDREAS, AMBASSADOR OF GREECE

Ambassador KARANDREAS. I am the Ambassador of Greece. I would like to add our tribute to the distinguished career of the Democratic Representatives, Ben Rosenthal and Phil Burton.

In the case of Greece, through the years of the dictatorship and ever since, they were an unfailing ally to the cause of democracy and justice. In the case of Cyprus, they never ceased to speak out against the continuing tragedy and occupation and human rights violations.

It was the recognition of their sympathy and support for the concerns of Greece that the Greek Parliament addressed their condolences to their families. Their formal tribute represented a salute of affection, respect, and gratitude from the people of Greece as a whole.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador. You honor us, as well as those we honor, by your presence here tonight.

COMMENTS OF ESTHER PETERSON

Ms. PETERSON. I want to stand here and just say "amen" to all the things that have been said. I especially want to say a great thanks for the consumers of this country, even though we didn't get the agency bill through—and I would love to tell you the stories on why it didn't get through. It was not because of wonderful Ben Rosenthal or Phil Burton. I want to say a great thank you to you.

And although we are here in Statuary Hall, their statues are not here. But what those men did is engraved in our hearts and minds and will not be forgotten. Thank you, Phil, and thank you, Ben.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Thank you, Esther Peterson, for those stirring remarks.

Is there anyone else?

If not, on behalf of the sponsors, families of these two great individuals, we thank you all for your presence, for your participation. We know that as we leave here tonight, the memories of these two individuals, Ben Rosenthal

and Phil Burton, will live on. I hope we can remember not only the significant achievements and contributions they have made, but the good times as well.

So, I will say good night at the same time I will ask Dave Obey to play a concluding number for us.

[A musical selection was played by the Capitol Offenses.]

[Whereupon, at 7:30 p.m., the memorial service was concluded.]



FLARE

Memorial services held in the House Main



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